

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the I-lade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Monday, December 20, 1976

Portugal's progress

Portugal has held its first free municipal elections in 50 years and that is worth noting. The nation has walked a turbulent road since the overthrow of the right-wing dictatorship two and a half years ago but the Portuguese people deserve credit for persevering in their efforts to build a political democracy.

Of course they are frustrated and even disillusioned over progress to date, and this is reflected in the polls. With every election fewer people vote; on this occasion about 65 percent cast their ballots. Yet even this is a better showing than that made in the United States, where only slightly more than half of the electorate voted in the recent presidential election. The growing Portuguese apathy is regrettable but not critical.

As for the outcome of the election, it appears to be a qualified vote of confidence for the minority Socialist Party government inasmuch as the Socialists won more than one-third of the vote. The total was less than they got in the legislative elections last April but more than they expected to win. At the same time, because local personalities play such a dominant role in local elections, the Socialists cannot interpret the vote as a referendum on the policies of the central government. In fact, they will now find it more difficult to rule because of the unexpectedly strong gains made by the Communists in the South (to over 17 percent of the vote) and the gains made by opposition parties in the rural, conservative North.

Looking ahead, the big question is whether Portugal will be able to consolidate its democratic system through its economic recovery program. The problems are enormous.

Unemployment stands at over 15 percent. Inflation at more than 18 percent. The nation's balance of payments deficit for the year is over \$1 billion. Some 600,000 refugees from the African territories have added about 9 percent to the population, compounding the economic burden. Workers' real wages have risen very little.

Confronted with this situation, Prime Minister Mario Soares can be applauded for his basic reform efforts. He has moved energetically on the agrarian front, returning land that was seized illegally and evicting the squatters. He has begun to carry out measures to boost labor productivity, such as limiting strikes and holding down wage increases in nationalized firms. He is trying to cut consumption and imports of luxury goods.

But his austerity policies obviously are not universally popular. Overall he must tread a fine line between instituting harsh, conservative policies that are essential if the economy is to get moving again and not doing so totally at the expense of the working population and the social gains of the revolution. He is bound to come under increasing pressure from the radical farm laborers of the South, where the Communists are strong, and the factory workers of Lisbon's industrial belt. While he is thus on the proper track, the political risks are great and the danger of attack from the right and left remains.

For all the uncertainties, however, the fact is that Portugal has instituted a functioning parliamentary democracy. It has a long way to go. But democracy is not an easy path under the best of circumstances and the Portuguese can take pride in a good beginning.

Mideast 're-entry window'

All the Mideast talk these days is about reconvening the Geneva conference for another go at an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. The Arabs, led by Egypt, are actively pushing the idea at the United Nations. Israel, not to be left behind by its adversaries, has joined the call, even though, for technical reasons, it voted against the recent resolution adopted by the General Assembly to resume negotiations by March 1.

Perhaps too much false hope is building up over the prospect of a UN conference (which, it will be recalled, was set up after the 1973 war, met briefly, and then was suspended while Henry Kissinger went about his step-by-step diplomacy). To bring the conference together is one thing; what happens when all the parties are assembled at Geneva is another. It could be a shambles.

Yet it is clear that, by setting up some negotiating forum, it will be possible to keep the diplomatic momentum alive through 1977 while the Israelis sort out their domestic political scene and thereby to make sure no conflict erupts in the crucial first year of the Carter administration.

Everyone agrees the time for movement is ripe. The Lebanese conflict is under control. The Palestinians are subdued and, with Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia working in tandem, they are under strong pressure to get along at the Geneva bandwagon. It is encouraging, too, that Egypt, mindful of Israel's sensitivities in this election year, is suggesting the Arabs go to Geneva in a single delegation that would include a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israel, which refuses to sit down with the PLO, conceivably could live with such a formula, thus avoiding a procedural dispute.

It is factors such as these which have led Secretary of State-designate Cyrus Vance to say that a "re-entry window appears to be opening" in the Middle East.

President-elect Carter will have to act quickly to take advantage of this "window." His early task will be to start something out key Arab and Israeli leaders and get some feel for how they might proceed in the first phase of a resumed Geneva conference. Inasmuch as he

conveys a pro-Israeli stance during the election campaign, he will need to establish his credibility as a mediator intending to approach the Mideast problem with the same evenhandedness and objectivity displayed by his predecessor. He will also have to show he is determined to achieve a comprehensive settlement.

The groundwork for a Geneva conference, or more feasibly perhaps, a preliminary Geneva conference, will have to be carefully laid. Assuming the forum could not get down to substantive negotiation, it nonetheless could take up such procedural questions as the overall agenda and the establishment of working parties to deal simultaneously with various pieces of an overall agreement. Some role will have to be defined for the Soviet Union, the conference's cochairman with the United States. The broad outlines of these and other issues will have to be agreed upon behind the scenes before everyone gathers.

Procedure will be the easiest part of course. The substance — the establishment of a Palestinian state, the future of Jerusalem, the delineation of secure borders for Israel — will have to wait until after the Israeli elections next fall and no one thinks agreement will be easy. The Palestinians, while at least now talking about setting up a West Bank state, still refuse to recognize the existence of Israel. And while the Arabs have agreed to meet with PLO representatives in Paris, Israeli opinion is far from accepting the idea of a Palestinian state wedged into Israel's eastern flank and certainly not before the Palestinians give up their claims to the whole of Palestine which they lost to Israel in 1948.

In fact, Mr. Carter's efforts could well be tantamount to persuading the PLO to renounce its demands for a "democratic secular state" in all Palestine. This would make it easier to bring Israel to the conference table and would create a climate of moderation in which compromises would be more possible.

Realistically, it could be several years or more before the Arabs and Israel agree on a final settlement of their conflict. But the alternative to starting the long process of talking is more fighting. Hence Mr. Carter must be building on the solid foundation laid by Henry Kissinger and put the diplomatic ball in play once again.

'There'll always be an England ...'



The Christian Science Monitor

New Gaullist challenge in France

New political storm clouds are gathering in France with the revamping of the rightist Gaullist Party under the leadership of former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac. Young, hard-working, and ambitious, Mr. Chirac now poses a potential threat to the man who ousted him last summer, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, whose term of office does not expire until 1981. But municipal elections are due next March and important parliamentary elections are scheduled for 1978 — elections on which the two men do not agree, as far as tactics are concerned.

Tokyo Rose

Has this time come to show mercy, in the form of a presidential pardon, for the woman once known to millions of Americans as "Tokyo Rose"? We think it has, for several reasons. One is that American-born Mrs. Iva Togiani D'Aquino, who became one of several Tokyo Rose impersonators broadcasting to United States soldiers in the Pacific area during World War II, has long since paid her debt to society. Twenty years ago, she completed more than six years of a 10-year prison sentence. She also was fined \$10,000.

In the early postwar era, moreover, her wartime activities in Japan (once cleared by American authorities there as not warranting prosecution for treason) became the focus for a trial in the United States with strong emotional overtones. With hindsight, there are indications that some of the trial procedures left much to be desired. But the term Tokyo Rose was so familiar, and the propaganda broadcasts to American troops were so widely inaccurate (even though the content often proved inaccurate) that she already was a symbol of anti-Japanese sentiment. The mood of the day was to punish those guilty of war crimes. Thus her conviction for treason was almost inevitable, and few lamented it at the time.

Mr. Chirac and the Gaullists (the party now is renamed Rally for the Republic) are ready for a head-on confrontation with the leftist opposition combination of Socialists and Communists. President Giscard d'Estaing, head of the small Independent Republican Party still officially allied with the Gaullists, prefers a more conciliatory approach to the opposition, with the aim of strengthening the political center by winning over moderates rather than participating in an outright right-left struggle. With the President and the former Prime Minister at odds, the prospect is for a period of lively political fireworks in France to determine which position prevails.

Smashing from his August dismissal, Mr. Chirac stormed back into the National Assembly with an impressive by-election victory last month, following a campaign where he was very much a man of the people in his native Corrèze province. Now his election as leader of the revived rightist Gaullists puts him in a strong position to challenge the cool, intellectual, but somewhat remote Giscard.

Some Gaullists meanwhile are critical of the top control exerted by the President and the Independent Republicans which they outnumber in the Legislature and country at large. They also are concerned about a broad range of Giscard policies, including more cooperation with NATO allies and the United States, new currency regulations, and relations with the European Community. They want to get back to the de Gaulle policy of a France following its own special pathway to greatness.

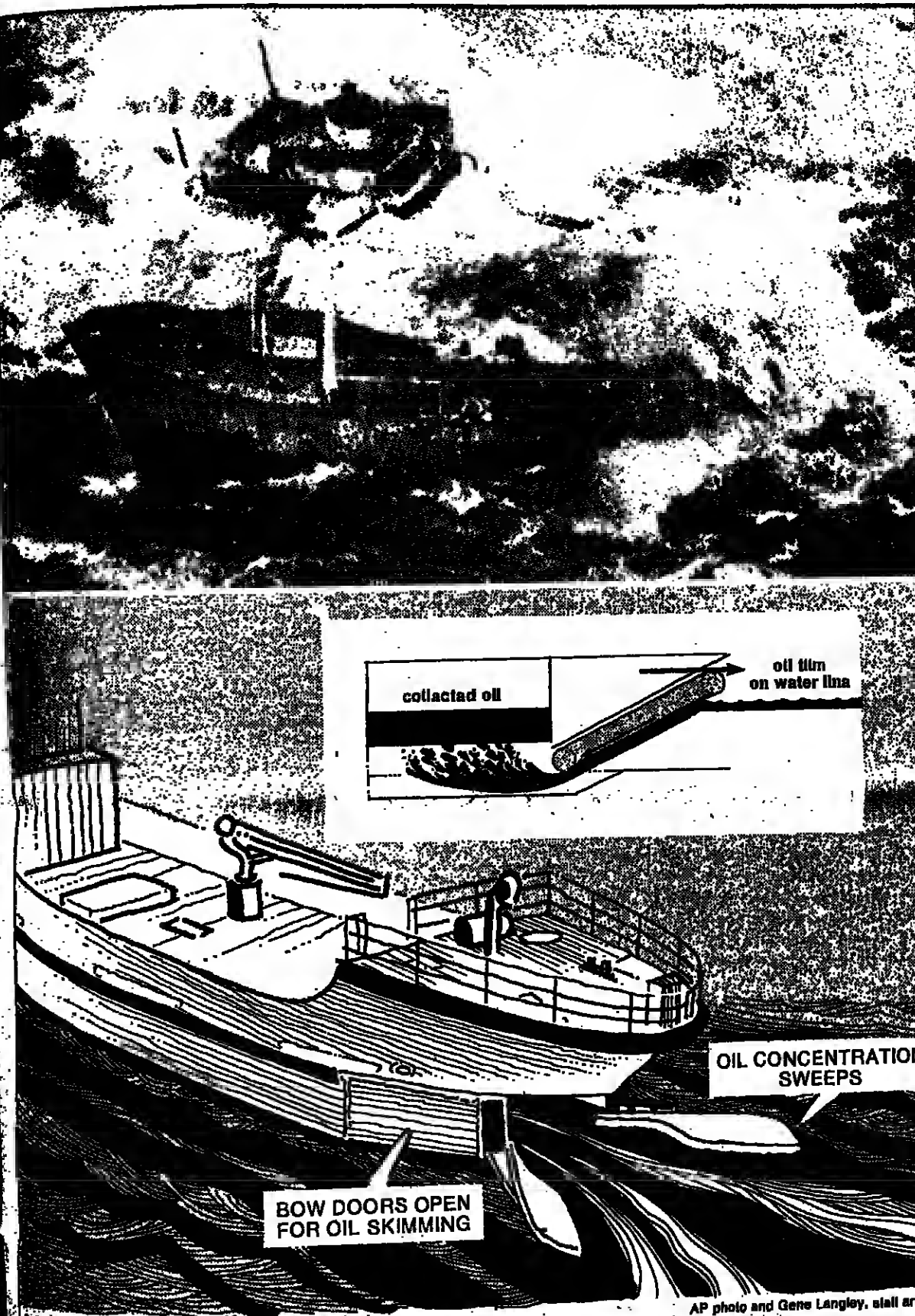
It is too early to judge how much impact this new Gaullist alignment is likely to have. Mr. Chirac is readying his forces to make a fight of it, yet he and Mr. Giscard d'Estaing are not all that far apart on France's problems and how to handle them. Their different attitudes toward the leftist threat, however, is leading toward an open rift. And that, in turn, would provide an opportunity for François Mitterrand, Socialist leader of the leftist coalition to exploit at the ballot box later on.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, December 27, 1976

60c U.S.



Oil tanker (above), newly invented oil skimmer (below)

Man's know-how vs. natural disaster: the battle to contain oil spills

Wanted:

Ships with an appetite for spilt oil

By Lynde McCormick
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Technology already exists to clean up major oil spills — but the equipment doesn't. That's why government officials and private industry are not now able to halt the rough weather spread of major oil spills, like the one currently moving southeast from shoals off Nantucket Island.

The reason, say several sources, is that neither the petroleum industry nor the federal government has spent enough money or paid enough attention in the past to produce this equipment.

Next month, however, a ship is being launched in England which — if manufacturer's expectations are met — could very well clean up oil slicks like the one off Cape Cod.

Gallons of oil a minute from seas up to eight feet. Company president Ralph Bianci says the ship holds 10,000 gallons and would work in the rough seas around the Liberator tanker whose spill now threatens Georges Bank, one of the world's most important fisheries.

[The Associated Press reported Wednesday (Dec. 22) that heavy winter seas were sinking the still-loaded front half of the tanker Argo Merchant, which broke in two in one of history's worst oil spills.]

Unfortunately, the skimmer, built for Gulf Oil use in North Sea operations, will not be launched until Jan. 28. Mr. Bianci adds that JBF has designed an even larger skimmer for use in 12-foot seas in the Gulf of Alaska.

Environmental officials in Massachusetts complain that the Coast Guard has been largely ineffective in its attempts to stop the Argo Merchant from causing what has become the largest oil spill in U.S. history.

*Please turn to Page 12

Jews and Arabs caught up in peaceward currents

By Joseph C. Harsch

The movement toward peace in the Middle East is building up a momentum of its own. It's as though Arabs and Israelis were in separate boats in a narrowing, swift river with extremely dangerous rapids ahead. They can steer their boats, but cannot resist the current. Both boats will be carried into the rapids. No man can foresee what will happen then.

The peace movement picked up its decisive momentum 10 days ago when Saudi Arabia broke with the rest of the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) over the price of oil. Most of the others wanted a high price rise to compensate for the rise in price of things they buy. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates favored a minimum 5 percent price rise if any.

Since then, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has precipitated an early election, probably in May, by pushing three members of the National Religious Party out of his Cabinet. And Egypt and Syria have announced that they will attempt once more to reorganize themselves into a single political union.

Both of these new moves of the past week are logical preliminaries to a serious negotiation over a settlement of the war between Arabs and Israelis which has beset the Middle East and endangered the general peace of the world for nearly 30 years. Egyptians and Syrians improve their bargaining power by coordinating their diplomacy. Mr. Rabin must have a renewed mandate before he dares to go to the peace table.

*Please turn to Page 13

Rhodesia: after 'K' plan, a British mission

By David Asable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York

The British Government, with the close cooperation of the Americans, is putting together a revised set of proposals for Rhodesia to replace the tattered remains of U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's original five-point plan for black majority rule.

The new blueprint is expected to lay out a far more active British role in the interim government that will run Rhodesia during the transition from white minority to black majority rule.

*Please turn to Page 13

To ring Comrade Ivan, simply dial 804429145032945544

By David M. Willis
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The Western visitor had to telephone from his Moscow office to Kiev, 548 miles away in the Ukraine. He trembled — stories about telephone troubles abound here.

But he did it — by dialing 804429145032945544. The call — and those 18 digits — tell a good deal about telephone, Soviet-style.

On the one hand, the digits worked. After a 20-second delay while the automatic switching clicked away, the very person the caller wanted came on the line. Direct dialing is available from Moscow to 84 cities around the clock and 23 more at weekends and limited other times.

On the other hand, all those numbers for one call indicate that the equipment here is not up to current Western standards. And it can take five years to have equipment installed in a new apartment complex.

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Highlights



THE LAND OF JESUS. With two full pages of photographs of Galilee, Gordon Converse records backgrounds of the gospel stories. Pages 16 and 17

INTERVIEW. A grim picture of Mrs. Gandhi's India is painted by Nayanar Sabharwal (niece of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru.) Page 18

SOWETO. The Monitor's correspondent in South Africa has had significant interviews on the Soweto question. In Tanzania she talked to black refugees and in Soweto itself to a prominent African in touch with the black Student Representative Council. Page 9

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FOCUS

More cultural freedom for China

By Frederic A. Moritz

Music lovers and moviegoers in China appear to be in for a change in the hit of fare. Lighter folk music may gradually replace highly political revolutionary operas, and humorous, adventure-filled epics about emperors and heroic generals may compete with the long, serious films that chronicle the arduous efforts of idealistic peasants and factory workers.

This is likely to be one result of the political purges of Mao Tse-tung's widow, Chiang Ching, and other radical figures who have long dominated the Chinese cultural world, according to experienced Chinese watchers.

They suggest that cultural liberalization may be an important part of the efforts of new Communist Party Chairman Hua Guofeng to rally the Chinese people behind him.

The new stage of experiment was ushered in last month when Minister of Culture Yu Hui-yung, a protégé of Mme. Mao, was reported arrested. Another arrested member of the so-called "gang of four," along

with Mme. Mao, was former Shanghai journalist Yao Wen-yuan, who has been accused of dominating the Peking and Shanghai press and of manipulating the news media to promote radical influence.

Since then, signs of cultural liberalization have included substitution of folk music for revolutionary operas on radio stations in Peking and the provinces. Articles in the Chinese press by filmmakers and orchestra and opera leaders have accused Mme. Mao of suppressing artists.

According to one Peking diplomat, within two weeks of Mme. Mao's arrest last month, the banned modern opera "Song of the Garden" was staged, with audiences enthusiastically responding to its comic acrobatics.

According to this diplomat, Chinese audiences seem bored with the steady stream of humorless political heroes that formed the mainstay of films produced after Mme. Mao's rise to influence during the Cultural Revolution of the mid-1960s.

A recent and effusive tribute paid by the Chinese press to radical but noncommunist author Lu Hsiang is taken by some analysts as a further hint of cultural liberalization.

Mr. Lu, a prominent writer in the 1930s and 1940s was lavishly praised last month on the 50th anniversary of his passing for his extensive work in translating foreign literature into Chinese. Some analysts see this as a sign that more foreign literature will be allowed into China.

But it is not yet clear how far this liberalization will be permitted to go. Nor is it clear to what extent the new Chinese Government will let its writers use art forms to give a realistic picture of life in China to both Chinese and foreigners.

Analysts note that once before, in 1954, the arts were allowed more freely to flourish under the slogan "let a hundred flowers bloom." Those who went too far were criticized the next year as rightists.

Moreover analysts note, victory by Chairman Hua over Mme. Mao and her fellow radicals was made possible by the support of the Army.

And the Army, with its emphasis on discipline and order, could set limits on art forms that might be seen as decadent, excessively foreign-influenced, or conducive to disorder.

Roads steepen for world Jewry

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
The tragic story of the world's Jews may be repeated yet again in South Africa and Italy before very long. So says Dr. Immanuel Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth, looking back on a year of travels through the Jewish world. Dr. Jakobovits also spoke sadly of disappointed expectations for Russian Jewry.

Talking to a luncheon party of British religious affairs correspondents, Britain's Chief Rabbi said that despite Helsinki and détente, the situation of Jewry in the Soviet Union had, if anything, deteriorated in the past year. (Dr. Jakobovits himself visited Russia a year ago.)

The Orthodox Christian church in Russia enjoyed far greater freedoms than the Jews there. The church had freedom of publication, freedom to organize on a national scale and to train men for the ministry. Jews had nothing like that.

Asked if he had been "taken for a ride" during his visit to Russia, with all the promises and assurances he had received, Dr. Jakobovits replied: "No more than Henry Kissinger was when he was promised détente and got Cuban troops in Angola."

The Chief Rabbi gave the example of a proposed seminar of Jewish intellectuals to be held in Moscow. He said it had evoked severe harassment, house searches, arrests, prolonged interrogations by the KGB (Russian secret police). Four Jewish intellectuals from Britain had applied for visas to attend; three had been refused for "devious reasons" like there being no accommodation available for them. Dr. Jakobovits said he was glad to hear that both Britain and the United States regarded human rights as the top priority for the following conference on Helsinki to be held next summer in Helsinki.

Turning to South Africa, the Chief Rabbi spoke of "the profound pangs of conscience felt by the Jewish community in a racist society with which they have never been able to come to terms." He always, Jews were liable to have to bear the brunt of any reaction against that society, and the prospect of wholesale emigration from one of the most flourishing communities of the diaspora (the scattered worldwide Jewry) was extremely bitter.

Canadian Jewry, too, was seized with anxiety. French Canadian nationalism threatened a split between the Jewish community in Montreal and that in Toronto. Meanwhile Italian Jewry was caught in a pincer movement between extremely strong Arab influence now growing over Italy and the growing power of the Italian communists. The Chief Rabbi of Italy thought that mass emigration of his community was becoming inevitable.

It was a somber, even apocalyptic, outlook



Protesting in Moscow in 1973.

"We believe that not only are we a chosen people, but everyone is"

that Dr. Jakobovits had painted. Perhaps it would be as well to take it with a pinch of his own salt: "We Jews, I think, are constantly given to over-reacting to events. When things go well we rise on a crest of euphoria. When we suffer reverses, we fall to a trough of depression and despondency more severe than normal."

Jews were just beginning to recover from the depression of the past year when the situation in the past year two times had boosted their morale: the rescue operation which brought back the Jewish black hostages from Entebbe, and Western reaction against the United Nations resolution identifying Zionism with racism. That had helped to win back for the Jews a degree of understanding they feared they had lost.

Turning to the position of the Jewish community in Britain, the Chief Rabbi said there had been some debate as to whether they should risk the odium of taking sides with the newer waves of immigrants. He was glad to say the vast majority of Jews felt they should so identify themselves. "Any threat to immigrants is a threat not just to the Jews also, but to the whole of British Society."

Dr. Jakobovits said he was still concerned about the intermarriage of Jews with Gentiles, for the very simple reason that it caused a decline in numbers, and you couldn't have Judaism without Jews. Already Jews had an

even lower birthrate than the general community in Britain. Seventy percent of the children of mixed marriages were not brought up as Jews.

The Chief Rabbi had to face some firm though delicately worded questioning on this point. Some correspondents put it to him there was a racist element in his approach. No, said Dr. Jakobovits, the definition of racism was the oppression of one race by another; there was none of that in Judaism.

The Jews had no desire to oppress anyone else, they just wanted to remain themselves. What they wanted to preserve was not the purity of the race but the identity of a people who had suffered so much martyrdom for so many thousands of years.

He summed up, "We believe in being different. We believe that not only are we a chosen people, but everyone is a chosen people. We don't want to be a world religion, we don't seek to make converts or go out on adventures. But it follows from this that to retain our identity we've got to retain Judaism. A Jew, by virtue of his birth as a Jew, has a historical commitment and we will not look with favor on his opting out of this. We have already lost one-third of our Jews in the Nazi holocaust, and with another three million in Russia who are not allowed to live as part of our people we cannot look with complacency at the question of our survival."

Europe

Italy's Communists look to role in government

Even many leftists express some skepticism about Leninist heirs' sincerity in talk of cooperation

By David Willey
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

By Sven Simon

Berlinguer: "Time to go beyond theory"

The powerful Italian Communist Party is conducting a rigorous self-examination to prepare itself for government.

But increasing doubts are being expressed by non-Communist here about the sincerity of the party's professed attachment to a multi-party system.

A marathon meeting of the 177-member central committee of the Italian Communist Party is attempting to lay down the blueprint for a Communist utopia in Italy. Party leader Enrico Berlinguer started this critical analysis with a long interview in the party weekly l'Unità saying the time had come to go beyond the theoretical basis provided in the 1930s by the party's ideologist Antonio Gramsci and redefine the sort of new society at which the Communist Party is aiming.

Wide support wooed

There has been some breast-beating at the central committee meeting by the party's new chief organizer, Gianni Cervelli, who complained of a tendency to impose improvised, slapdash solutions on Italy's current social and economic problems. But no clear image has yet emerged of how the party sees its future role in or out of government except as a member of a "grand alliance" of the (Roman Catholic) Christian Democrats and the Communists — an unlikely political development in the near future.

The accord at the central committee meeting is upon retaining the widest possible support for the party within the country. The working-class origin of the party is hailed, but this does not mean that support is spurned from white collar workers, intellectuals, or even businessmen.

"The image is that of a government party needing technicians to solve everyday problems rather than militants devoting themselves to revolution," commented the authoritative Milan daily Corriere della Sera.

"It might be said that the Communist Party, having arrived at the threshold of government, feels the need to change its shirt and adapt itself to its new tasks," the newspaper said.

The ideological inheritance of Antonio Gramsci, who died in one of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini's prisons, appears to be proving awkward to the Italian Communists when they try to answer the simple question: "Do you or do you not believe

A broader ideology?

Mr. Gramsci marked a stage in the development of Leninist ideology in that he dealt with the problem of democratic consent in a complex, Western-type society. But the Italian Communist theoretician was certainly no advocate of the multi-party parliamentary system.

The gravest doubts are being expressed by leading non-Communist political commentators about the type of regime which the Italian Communists might wish to establish here.

Alberto Moncalvo, an influential, politically independent journalist, quoted a leading Communist as saying recently that the transformation of Italian society as conceived by the Communists would mean that there would be no need for alternative conservative and progressive governments.

"What sort of pluralism is that?" he asked. "A Western society is not only more complex than the one which Lenin knew or Gramsci thought about, but also more complex than that which some members of the Italian Communist Party today can conceive," he concluded.

Leftists also aroused

Some progressive left-wing politicians also are angry with the Communists. Marco Pannella, leader of the small but militant Radical Party, which gained four seats in Parliament for the first time in the last general election, says he is fed up with being attacked by Communists who ought to be fighting for the same civil rights issues as the Radical Party.

The Radicals spearheaded the fight for divorce law reform and are at present campaigning for a host of social reforms which most Italians would agree are overdue. The Communists, however, perhaps because they feel the Radicals are stealing their thunder, have been hostile to Mr. Pannella and his supporters.

"Why such hate? Why such intolerance?" wrote Mr. Pannella. "What sort of forecast does this give of a government with Communists in it? How would they treat the opposition from the Ministry of the Interior?"

Italians of many political persuasions are pondering Mr. Pannella's words as the Communist central committee churns out many speeches but few radically new ideas for tackling Italy's economic and political problems.

Awareness filters into E. Germany

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

East Berlin

A West German boy of ten was playing in front of his apartment house here in East Berlin. (His father lives and works here.) The boy invited two East German boys of the same age to the apartment. It was high enough and near enough to offer a good view of the wall that divides Berlin. (The wall was, of course, built by the East German Government to restrain its citizens, but propaganda here says it is to protect them against fascism.)

One of the East German boys said, "That is the anti-fascist protection." The other East German boy said, "You can call it the wall."

We are with West Germans now." The first East German boy said, "Yes, you are right."

The West German father who overheard the conversation was amazed that youngsters of ten could so consciously switch their vocabulary to accord with the company they were keeping.

This story illustrates how politically aware East Germans are — and, as a corollary, how important West German broadcasting is to East German citizens.

Conversations with East Germans make it clear they are uncannily aware politically. They have to live and breathe the prescribed politics to protect their position in society. But it is exaggerated to say they know more about West Germany than West Germans

themselves, it certainly is true that they know more about West Germany than West Germans know about East Germany.

Two-thirds of all East Germans can receive regular West German television, and 80 percent of East German families have sets. West German radio reaches all of East Germany, and virtually all families have sets.

In addition to the regular West German stations, Deutschlandfunk and RIAS (Radio in the American Sector of Berlin) broadcast specifically to East Germany.

East Germans have a wide variety of Western programming to choose from — news, commentary, events in Moscow, developments in Africa, documentaries and specials, and coverage of Communist lands, culture, and so on.

Diplomatically, East Germany has tried long and hard to keep the Western media out but without success. Along with Moscow and the other East-bloc lands, the East German Government argues that especially after the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, such broadcasting is nothing but interference in the internal affairs of its country.

On the other hand, listeners in East Germany and a study of the East German media — which includes powerful radio stations reaching most of Europe — make it clear that the Communists have not given up their ideological struggle against the West.

The media here are full of negative developments in West Germany. And they also are full of items purporting to show how various aspects of "freedom" are stronger here. The word freedom appears constantly in the media here — "socialist freedom."

Erich Honecker, Communist Party chairman in East Germany, has said, "Peaceful coexistence between nations with different ways of life and the unyielding struggle against bourgeois ideology in all its forms are not really opposites. They are one and the same



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Standing guard in East Berlin

thing. Uncompromising struggle against imperialist ideology is a basic requirement of an active pursuit of peaceful coexistence."

What these abstract statements mean in practice is a constant attempt to tell "socialist" citizens of East Germany that their country is good and free, but that West Germany and other capitalist countries are evil and repressive.

But here in East Berlin, with so many Western broadcasts coming in that they just cannot be jammed, it is clear East German citizens "listen West."

These citizens tell a stranger that their government does not do anything about it. "We hear Western broadcasts — and thank goodness," one woman told this reporter.

Germans, French halt A-exports

By the Associated Press

Bonn

West Germany has announced it will refrain from exporting nuclear technology that could boost the spread of nuclear weapons. The decision followed a similar declaration by France two weeks ago announcing an embargo on the sales of nuclear reprocessing technology to other countries. Washington sources say President Ford has sought to persuade West Germany and France to cancel controversial sales of nuclear equipment to Brazil and Pakistan. President-Elect Carter also is known to be opposed to the export of sensitive nuclear technology.

West German Foreign Ministry spokesman Klaus Terloth said Bonn's decision would not affect the \$4 billion contract for West Germany to supply Brazil with fuel-cycle nuclear facilities.

Though these facilities could give Brazil the plutonium fuel and technology to develop an atomic bomb, the Bonn government has argued that strict safeguards would make the agreement a model for other such deals.

Brazil has not signed the international treaty prohibiting the spread of nuclear arms.

Under the German contract, Brazil must complete an inspection agreement with the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency before the equipment is delivered.

Soviet Union

Brezhnev's birthday

The party is over but questions remain

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Mongolian and Cuban officials. An banquet followed.

Moscow
The outpouring of praise and ceremonies to mark Leonid Brezhnev's 70th birthday here underscores some features of the Soviet leadership, but leaves others tantalizingly unclear.

By allowing the pomp and the adulation to outstrip the honors given to the late Nikita Khrushchev on Khrushchev's 70th birthday (in April, 1964, six months before his ouster), Mr. Brezhnev has shown just how far above the rest of the ruling Politburo he has risen in the last five years. Yet he has not received the kind of obeisance given to Joseph Stalin (who also turned 70 while in office).

The questions Western analysts are most interested in are not yet answered: do the paeans of praise indicate that Mr. Brezhnev will stay in power for some years to come?

Or does he plan to retire with honor, as his wife Viktoria told a foreign diplomat two years ago he dreamed of doing one day?

Does he plan to turn more of the day-to-day work of government over to his heir-apparent, Andrei Kirilenko, while retaining ultimate authority himself?

No answers found

The most intense analysis by outsiders has failed to provide answers. Some Kremlin-watchers note occasional references in acceptance speeches by Mr. Brezhnev that he will serve as long as his health lasts. But this could be simply rhetoric.

Some observers found the Kremlin birthday ceremony Dec. 19, in which Mr. Brezhnev was awarded his third hero medal and his fifth Order of Lenin ribbon to be anticlimactic. Other observers had not expected much more anyway. The ceremony was attended by top East European leaders (except Yugoslavia but including Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu) and by

The entire occasion was an opportunity for the Soviet Union to congratulate itself on its achievements at home and to stress its leadership of the communist movement worldwide.

This theme was picked up by Mikhail Suslov, chief ideologist of the Politburo, at the banquet for Mr. Brezhnev in the Kremlin in the evening of Dec. 19. Mr. Suslov praised Mr. Brezhnev for being an organizer, for moving the Soviet Union to a new stage of social cohesion, and for the policy of Détente, which Mr. Brezhnev has pushed hard.

Some observers see in the day a reaffirmation of the party's supremacy over the military as well as of the party's own domestic and international image.

Unusual aspects

Meanwhile, analysts were struck by two unusual aspects of the birthday buildup and celebrations, which have dominated Soviet media for more than a week:

• The presence in Moscow of veteran Chilean Communist Luis Corvelan, whose freedom was obtained by Moscow on the eve of the birthday in exchange for Vladimir Bukovsky, the young man who first told the West that Moscow was sending dissenters to psychiatric hospitals.

• The awarding to Mr. Brezhnev Dec. 19 of a ceremonial sword in a leather sheath, embossed with a gold hammer and sickle, the state emblem. Such personal signs of honor have not been awarded since the 1918-21 civil war.

Heroic symbol

The sword might have been a substitute for the military rank of generalissimo. If it had been granted, the rank would have revived memories of the only other leader to hold it: Stalin.



AP photo

Galya with her great-grandfather Brezhnev in the Crimea last summer

Mr. Corvelan is regarded by Moscow as a heroic symbol of communist resistance to fascism because of his opposition to the Chilean military coup that overthrew Salvador Allende in 1973.

By flying him straight to Moscow on the night of Dec. 18 after the dramatic swap for Mr. Bukovsky at Zurich airport, the Kremlin appeared to be intent on a new honor for Mr. Brezhnev.

A personal message of thanks for Mr. Brezhnev from Mr. Corvelan was broadcast by radio

here and carried on the Tass news agency when Mr. Corvelan arrived. While the Chilean did not appear at the Kremlin ceremony Dec. 18, Chilean sources here said he was expected to be greeted by Mr. Brezhnev personally Monday, Dec. 20 and driven through Moscow streets.

Moscow has made no public mention of the swap for Mr. Bukovsky. They regard the latter as a traitor. He had two years of a seven-year sentence left to serve on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Release played up

Apparently to gain credit for the release, Tass announced that world opinion led by the Soviet Union had forced Mr. Corvelan's release and that Moscow would offer him full hospitality. It is reported that both Chile and the Soviet Union, working through United States and Swiss intermediaries, have agreed not to mention the swap in public.

As for the ceremonial sword of honor, it symbolizes the apparent desire of Mr. Brezhnev to be seen above Mr. Khrushchev but not in the same category as Stalin.

Yet Mr. Kirilenko has referred to Mr. Brezhnev as "vozhd" or leader, a term hitherto reserved for Stalin. Two other officials have followed suit.

Mr. Kirilenko also assured Mr. Brezhnev recently that in the Soviet Union 70 was only middle age. That was on the occasion of Mr. Kirilenko's own 70th birthday, which was celebrated with far less pomp than Mr. Brezhnev's.

things than they do, and they know we have more than the East Europeans.

"In fact, I think they tend to be delusional about their country and quite insecure."

A common theme in the questions: "What good is freedom if it means openly displaying the works of Hitler and Mao Tse-tung? Do your book shops really sell such books?"

To the reply, "Yes, and those of Lenin as well," the reaction was often a shake of the head: "You mean Americans are allowed to read such things?"

Meanwhile, commentator Zorn, writing for the official news agency Tass, says Americans know so little about the Soviet Union that their questions "often betray an utter lack of knowledge and at times sound incredible."

He writes that during one month in the U.S., he saw only two films about the Soviet Union on the news programs of the three major television networks. One was on the Nov. 7 anniversary of the 1917 revolution and the other about an anti-smoking drive in Sochi on the Black Sea.

He blamed "a certain policy of some circles which boss the mass media" for withholding information from Americans.

He failed to mention American newspapers, some of which carry a wide and continuous range of information on the Soviet Union. Nor did he say that American TV correspondents here recently were unable to obtain Soviet camera crews for several weeks because of a bureaucratic mix-up.

Another commentator, Vladimir Simonov of the Novosti agency, voiced the first direct criticism of the bicentennial exhibit the day after it closed. Writing in Moskovsky Komsomolets, a Russian youth newspaper, he said even American correspondents had noted the lack of reference to American problems in it.

How Boris sees 'Uncle Sam'

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
"About every 15 seconds," the young American guide said, "a Russian would come up to me and ask if we Americans have to carry an internal passport, or if we needed a special card to live in big cities."

"Many Russians still think we all live in apartments," chimed in another guide, "and they are simply amazed at the thought that any American can speak Russian as we do."

These and other comments from guides at two major U.S. exhibits in three Soviet cities lately indicate that in spite of official claims to the contrary, the Russian thirst for knowledge about things American is still accompanied by much ignorance.

The questions that bombard guides at such exhibitions are one of the few ways open to the West to gauge actual citizen impressions here.

Many Russians seem convinced that Americans know very little about the Soviet Union or that they see few Russian films, and read few Russian books.

After seeing a Soviet TV program in which a number of young Americans failed to name more than a few Soviet cities or republics, one earnest Russian asked a guide: "We want to learn about America. Why don't you want to learn about us?"

Détente, it seems, still has a long way to go to overcome years of mutual suspicion and official attitudes that color basic perceptions on both sides.

According to Soviet commentator Valentin Zorn, who recently produced and narrated a nine-part series on American cities for national Soviet television, the Soviet people "know well

about life" in the U.S., "about the problems upmost in the minds of the citizens . . . about its politicians . . . history, science, and culture."

But what most Russians know is based on what their government tells them because they cannot travel abroad and can read only official publications here.

Those Russians who do listen to the Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation, West German radio, and others (free from jamming since the height of détente in 1973) are learning more.

But according to guides at the highly successful U.S. Bicentennial Exhibition, which has just closed here (after 200,000 Russians had poured through it in four weeks), and the U.S. photography exhibit which is to follow, Soviet Georgians, often long-stays in Alma-Ata; in Kazakhstan, and Kiev in the Ukraine; questions still indicate wide gaps about everyday life.

"If you don't have internal passports, how can you prove who you are?" was a question that came often.

"How is it that we allow many more of your books and films into our country than you allow of ours?"

"Is it compulsory to go to school in the United States?" "Is English taught as a second language?" (The question assumed that English and American were two different things.)

"Are you assigned to a job after you leave school?" "How do you live if you lose your job?"

Questions flooded in about high U.S. prices, high cost of medical care, crime and violence — all attack themes of Soviet media.

"But many of them know very well we have a higher standard of living than they do," one guide emphasized. "They know that East Germans and other East Europeans have better

Chicago: the end of one-man rule

By Richard J. Cottant
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago

One of the longest and most spirited reigns over any big U.S. city — Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's iron-fisted rule for more than two decades over America's second largest metropolis — likely will be followed by:

• A split between the offices of Chicago mayor and the chairmanship of the Cook County Democratic Committee, both positions held by Mayor Daley until his passing Monday (Dec. 20).

• A power scramble to decide who will run in a special mayoral election to be held within six months — with a group of perhaps a dozen of the most powerful county Democratic committeemen actually choosing candidates for Mr. Daley's mayoral and party chairman posts.

• A continuing powerful role for the Chicago Democratic "machine," which observers here note was strongly in place when Mayor Daley was elected as a relative unknown in 1954. The machine appears to be in good position to also determine who will serve as mayor until the election.

• A likely redistributing of influence among the city's racial and ethnic groups — with a loss of power for the Irish and gains by black and Polish segments of the population. Greater county party influence will also likely flow to the suburbs from the city.

Americans outside Chicago knew Mayor Daley chiefly from his role as a "kingmaker" in President John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign, a crushing antiwar demonstrators at the 1968 Democratic Convention, and as a humiliated exile from the 1972 convention — after feigning a sympathy with the McGovern delegation re-buffs.

But to Chicagoans these national political forays were an aberration, exceptions to the Daley pattern. They regarded him as an old-school Irish politician who saw his power vested in local issues like garbage collection and potholes — not in Washington or State House elections.

He attended thousands of funerals, weddings, and anniversary parties. He distrusted intellectuals and liberals, who he thought had little sense of the wants of working-class voters.

Mayor Daley did not groom a successor, and it is widely assumed here it would take years at best for a successor to project the larger-than-life, mythical dimensions of "Boss" Daley.

A Daley successor is expected to be "an efficient administrative type of mayor," much as Mr. Daley himself was thought to be before his national political adventures gave him notoriety.

Chicago urbanologist Pierre de Vise credits Mayor Daley with the strongest achievements of any mayor in the city's history. But Mr. de Vise says the Mayor's career and the city had both reached a pinnacle by 1970 — and both had been in decline since.

Much of Chicago's financial troubles had been disguised by transferring them to noncity agencies and the State of Illinois, which took over Chicago's welfare load. Since 1970 the property tax base has been dropping; the city has been losing 20,000 jobs a year; and more than 70,000 people a year, mostly white middle-class residents, have been moving out.

"Daley would have been powerless to have halted these processes," Mr. de Vise claims. "The end of the Daley era actually began at the end of the 1960s."

The Chicago-Cook County Democratic organization will undergo a redistribution — not a loss — of power, says Milton Rackove, author of a recent book on the Daley machine.

"Suburban committeemen will be demanding and getting more power," Mr. Rackove says. "Power will also flow back into the city ward committeemen's hands."

Mr. Rackove sees little likelihood of a black-white confrontation over political power, since the leaders of both groups have too much invested in the organization. But the Irish, about 5 percent of the city's population, apparently will have to make concessions.

Of Chicago's 3.1 million population, 39 percent are black, 13 percent latino, and 10 per-



By William Marcus

Chicago skyline from Lake Michigan

cent Polish. Among other white Chicago minorities, Germans, Italians, and East Europeans are each thought to outnumber the Irish.

In national terms, the end of the Daley era will be much remarked but will make little practical difference, Mr. Rackove and others here suggest.

"Daley was not going to be a major figure in the Carter picture — the Carter people thought him passé," Mr. Rackove says.

Continuity will be provided by the city and

county Democratic machinery. It is thought. "One of the machine's great strengths is its ability to adapt," Mr. Rackove says.

"When Daley came to power in 1955, he was just the front man for a group of powerful people. There are a number of talented, tough people ready to take his place."

No flap of tension in the city is expected. "Between the politicians, labor leaders, and business leaders, all of whom are strong, the city isn't going to blow up," one observer said.

The overcrowded system

Prisons: are they the only answer to crime?

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Joliet, Illinois

James Johnson spends all but a few hours a week here in a cell at the state's maximum security prison that is about three times as small as the typical tiger cage at Chicago's Lincoln Park Zoo.

And due to the serious overcrowding facing this and many other prisons across the country, three prisoners have been put in most of



By Bruce J. Berman

Inefficient training programs keep most prisoners behind bars all day

the prison's normally one-man 6-by-10-foot cells. At the zoo, two tigers are put in cages measuring 15-by-18 feet.

With more persons in prisons or jails in the U.S. than ever before — nearly 600,000 — and with projections of continuing major increases, these questions are being forced on legislators, prison administrators, and the public:

• Do prisons reduce crime — or add to it?

The popular public conception of prisons seems to be that they get criminals "off the street"; some corrections specialists increasingly point out that almost all criminals eventually are released and that many return to crime.

Search for alternatives

• What are the alternatives to prison?

Except for the dangerous, it is increasingly argued by specialists such as Anthony P. Trivisono, executive director of the American Correctional Association, that less restrictive programs cost less to operate, are more humane, and are just as safe as most prisons. Those programs include probation, parole, and open-door group homes in communities where inmates return nightly from jobs or classes.

He cites a new study showing it costs \$34,000 per prisoner to build a new prison.

• Should more prisons be built?

Florida and a number of other states have pressed by expanding prison populations are planning more. But construction is costly. State legislatures, in some cases, are balking at looking for cheaper alternatives.

Meanwhile, the overcrowding is posing some tough problems in terms of programs and security in prisons like the one here.

Overcrowding "makes it almost impossible" for prisoners to study, says inmate Franklin Thomas, who — before the overcrowding became a big problem here — completed a college degree by correspondence.

In an interview through the glass window of his cell, Mr. Johnson said: "There's no privacy. I would like to study for a GED [high school equivalency] test, but everyone has their own TV and I'm a person easily distracted."

Beds stacked up

When he stretches out his arms, he can nearly touch both walls of his cell. The three bunk beds stack up nearly to the ceiling, leaving a small space at one end and along one side in which are crammed two small dressers, three portable television sets, and other personal belongings.

More than half the nearly 3,000 prisoners here got out of their cells frequently for a prison job or classes. But there is not enough for everyone to do, so Mr. Johnson and the rest spend up to 20 hours a day locked in their cells.

In spite of the "groat strain" on programs due to overcrowding, there have been no cutbacks in them, says assistant warden Arthur Walenstein. But "the end of the road" — an every-bed-full population of 3,200 prisoners — is fast approaching, says Warden David B. Brierley.

Already security risks have been heightened by quarrels over "which space is my space, which space is your space," he said in an interview. A clearer idea on how to handle violent criminals, not the construction of more prisons, is what the U.S. needs, he says.

United States

Carter wants 'Questions in the House'

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
President-Elect Jimmy Carter is asking a new dimension of Cabinet members by telling appointees that he expects them, if asked, to submit to question-and-answer sessions by the House, the Senate, or joint sessions of Congress.

This would be a dramatic development in the American government procedure — and parallel to the question period of parliamentary systems.

Both President-Elect Carter and Vice-President-Elect Walter F. Mondale, in respective books, advocate the appearance of Cabinet members before Congress, not merely before committees as at present, but before the legislative bodies as a whole.

Carter administrative assistant Greg Schneider said here that the President-Elect is notifying Cabinet candidates, before selection, that this will be one of their possible tasks. He wants to make greater use of the Cabinet in administration decision-making. The requirement that they appear, on request, before Congress would require personal capabilities not presently stressed.

"In England, I was particularly impressed with the interrogation of Cabinet ministers in the House of Commons," Mr. Carter wrote in

his book, "Why Not the Best?" (1975), "and believe that it would be helpful here to have members of the Cabinet appear before joint sessions of Congress to answer written and verbal questions, probably with live television coverage for the whole nation to view."

He added: "We must insure better public understanding of executive policy, and better exchange of ideas between the Congress and the White House. To do this, Cabinet members representing the president should meet in scheduled and televised interrogation sessions with the full bodies of Congress."

Senator Mondale independently advanced the same proposal in his book, "The Accountability of Power: Toward a Responsible Presidency" (1975). Mr. Mondale also sought the Democratic nomination.

"By subjecting Cabinet officers to questioning before the entire Senate," he said, "and insuring this available to radio and television — a question-and-report period might force presidents to nominate stronger Cabinet officers and give the entire Senate the opportunity to question them closely."

Mr. Mondale sponsored legislation in the Senate to further the project.

"This is not a new or radical idea," he wrote. "In 1884, a select committee of the House, and in 1881 a select committee of the Senate, recommended the right of the floor of

both houses to Cabinet officers to answer questions and participate in debate.

"In 1912 President Taft, in a message to Congress, made virtually the same recommendations." He recalled that Sen. Estes Kefauver backed the idea — and that a 1943 Gallup poll showed 72 percent in favor and only 7 percent opposed.

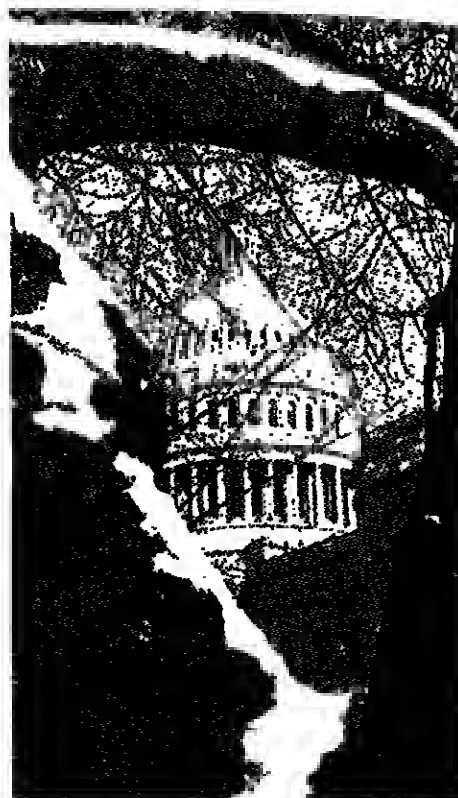
Mr. Mondale watched the question period in the Canadian Parliament and says he "came away even more convinced of the validity of the process."

"The Canadian Cabinet officers were dealt with not as superior public officials deserving special deference, but simply as co-equals who deserved only such respect as they earned."

Mr. Mondale noted that one Canadian official thought "that if we had had a question-and-report period in Congress, the war in Vietnam — because of its indefensibility — might have ended much earlier."

Lacking a parliamentary question period, Washington has substituted in the past the press conference, sporadically held both by Cabinet members and presidents.

Cabinet members defending positions on the floor of Congress in front of television cameras in the Carter-Mondale proposal would add a spectacular new dimension to American government. It would almost certainly create subtle differences in the relationship of Congress, Cabinet, and White House.



Capitol, Washington, D.C.

By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Q&A sessions planned in Congress

'What ought a vice-president to do?' Scholars wonder

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

If Walter F. Mondale follows in the footsteps of the 41 U.S. vice-presidents who have preceded him, the Minnesota man will suddenly discover after Jan. 20 that he has a lot of time on his hands.

He also will be available for a great deal of traveling — and have little say in the daily operation of the U.S. Government. Over the years no other major national office has been subjected to as much derision nor made the object of as many jokes as that of the "do-nothing" vice-presidency.

A new study of the vice-presidency prepared for the American Bar Association notes that men to that office frequently have found sufficient time for other pursuits. Richard M. Johnson spent time presiding over the affairs of his tavern rather than those of the Senate; Henry Wilson wrote more history than he

made. Theodore Roosevelt planned to finish law school. Thomas Marshall told jokes.

Scholars and lawmakers agree there are deficiencies in the role of the vice-president and the method of selecting the men who have filled the office since John Adams, the first Vice-President said: "I am nothing, but I may be everything."

Many incoming presidents, including Jimmy Carter, have promised that the vice-president would be given enlarged duties, and in recent years vice-presidents have played somewhat larger roles.

Recent public-opinion polls indicate that most Americans do not like the present process of selecting the vice-president and want a greater voice in choosing the men who seek that office.

San Birch Bayh (D) of Indiana, one of the most ardent advocates of election reform and an outspoken proponent of reforming the vice-presidency, concedes that there is not enough support in Congress or in state legislatures to

push through the constitutional amendment that would be required.

Nevertheless, the Senator was part of a large gathering of scholars, politicians, and legal experts who met at a Fordham University Law School symposium on the vice-presidency, sponsored by the American Bar Association, to hammer out proposals for improving the office.

Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. called for abolishing the office altogether, calling the vice-presidency "damaging" and "demoralizing" to those who hold the office. He proposed having the secretary of state serve temporarily as president when the office is left vacant, until a special election is held to replace the president.

A frequent criticism against the current practice of the presidential nominee choosing his running mate is that the candidate has too little time to give to his choice of a running mate — and that in the heat of a convention, stresses and time shortages leave little time for screening potential vice-presidents.

However, Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta attorney who played a major role in Jimmy Carter's selection of Senator Mondale, said he felt Mr. Carter had had ample time to make his decision, adding that "any candidate who doesn't begin early in his race to consider his vice-presidential choice probably won't be elected anyway."

George Reedy, press secretary to Lyndon B. Johnson, said he felt the stresses of a convention in some ways allowed the public to see how a presidential candidate would respond under pressures. The selection of a running mate, Mr. Kirbo felt, allows voters to size up the quality of appointments a presidential candidate might make after being elected.

While vice-presidents have tended to assume greater responsibility in recent administrations, holders of that office nonetheless have continued to complain of being "frozen out" and "forgotten" even by presidents who had recognized the problem and pledged to make greater use of their running mates.



Getting ready for parade By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

West Point code: what price honor?

West Point cleans house after cheating scandal

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The remedy for the worst cheating scandal in the history of the United States Military Academy at West Point looks like heavy doses of forgiveness and reform.

A special Pentagon commission recommends readmitting "as soon as possible" all 134 implicated cadets who have left, while making the embattled honor code more flexible and the Academy's educational role more emphasized.

Secretary of the Army Martin R. Hoffmann, who has the authority to implement the recommendations he received Dec. 16, says he largely agrees with them.

"The cadets did cheat, but were not solely at fault," the commission concluded. "Their culpability must be viewed against the unrestrained growth of the 'cool-on-honor' subculture at the academy, the widespread violations of the honor code, the gross inadequacies in the honor system, the failure of the academy to act decisively with respect to known problems, and the other academy shortcomings."

One-fourth of class

The cheating scandal, which has touched nearly one-quarter of this year's graduating class of 800, evolved from widespread collaboration on electrical engineering homework last March.

The special commission, headed by astronaut-turned-airline president Frank Borman, urges a series of institutional reforms. Among them:

• The honor code — "A cadet will not lie, cheat, or steal, nor tolerate those who do" — should be retained in its present

form, but the only punishment available for a violation should not be dismissal from the academy.

• Quality education must command "first call" at the academy, with its superintendent chosen for educational as well as military qualifications, and more visiting professors hired to increase "outside viewpoints."

• Commission chairman Borman, a West Point graduate, says the academy on the Hudson River at West Point, N.Y., is supposed to have an atmosphere of military-style disciplinary pressure, but threatens to become "a Ft. Benning-on-the-Hudson" (i.e., more military than educational).

Basis for overhaul

Indications are that the report of the commission, appointed four months ago by the Army Secretary, will form the basis of a series of West Point overhauls which Mr. Hoffmann intends to make "on a fairly military basis" in the remaining month of his term.

One change already under way is what he calls "a transition in leadership." The academy's second-ranking officer, Brig. Gen. Walter F. Ulmer, was replaced as commandant of cadets earlier this week by a scholar-general (Brig. Gen. John C. Bani, a West Point honors graduate and former Rhodes scholar).

The superintendent, Lt. Gen. Sidney B. Berry, also is expected to be transferred when his term expires in the spring.

"We hope," says Mr. Borman on behalf of the commission, "that the institution will make some corrections that will restore it to full health."

What Africans are demanding in Soweto . . .

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

Soweto may sound quiet now, but 1977 will be worse than this year, says a prominent African in touch with the Student Representative Council (SRC).

The SRC students have spearheaded the activity in Soweto, the huge black township near Johannesburg. So far it has managed to replace its shifting leadership as some youths leave the country or go underground. Three top SRC students are planning to leave soon, saying their part is done and police are closing in on them, according to informed sources.

Black adults say they are amazed at the courage and doggedness of these students.

The SRC is demanding two things of the government: (1) That Bantu education be scrapped. Bantu education is the separate, non-compulsory educational system for Africans. (2) That police release all detained children and youths, except those with specific charges laid against them.

Minister of Police and Justice James T. Kruger announced recently that 81 people detained under the Internal Security Act will be released soon. There are 102 people being

held under that act, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

SRC demands are conveyed through adult community leaders to government authorities. SRC leaders refuse to talk directly to white education officials "because they know what our demands are," the students say.

The U.S. ambassador here reportedly is also trying to talk with the SRC leaders. His request has been conveyed to them, and it now is up to the students to decide, according to a well-informed black community leader.

The attitude of whites has changed drastically since June 16, said T. W. Kamble, headmaster for 20 years of Soweto's Orlando High School. "They now think we should be viewed as human beings. But it is too late for only a change of attitude. The students want it to be that blacks can have what whites have, if they work for it."

For the SRC, the fight now is black against white. "When students marched into Johannesburg on Sept. 23, the police didn't shoot because they might shoot whites. In Soweto they shoot. The students notice the difference," Mr. Kamble explained.

About 20 percent of the 180,000 students in Soweto are judged to be activists, according to sources in touch with the government.

Currently, the SRC has organized a largely effective boycott of white-owned stores in Johannesburg. Some blacks were beaten up when they came home with Christmas presents from those eligible.

The government, under the new and more flexible regional director, J. L. T. Strydom, has relaxed its regulation that no new schools can be built in Soweto. Parents are being consulted now, and free textbooks will be issued from Form 1 instead of in only the last three years.

There are strong rumors that whites will be allowed to teach in Soweto soon. But all these plans may come to naught. The SRC says students will not go back to school unless Bantu education is abolished.

"I don't think it would work now [to put white teachers in Soweto]," said Mr. Kamble. "They don't want white teachers. Blacks must be able to go anywhere."

"If white teachers come to my school, I won't be able to have control over them. Besides, there is a shortage of white teachers in white areas," Mr. Kamble added.

One community leader said: "I feel the government is going to give in. They think it is weakness. But they don't realize that if they wait, it will be greater weakness because the protest will be stronger."

Some students secretly took the last matriculation exam, and the government has kept their names secret so they will not suffer reprisals. Figures vary from 10 to 20 percent of those eligible.

. . . and what three men who lived there are doing now

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Solomon was studying to be a policeman when the riots broke out in Soweto, the black township on the fringe of Johannesburg, last June. He resigned from his program and fled from South Africa in early November.

Percy was a student in Narnedi Junior Secondary School in Soweto, and participated in the June riots.

Saul, a teacher of English at Orlando Junior Secondary School in Soweto, was a confidant of the students, "because," he says, "I am not big."

These three young men, whose ages range from 18 to 25, are among scores of black youths from South Africa who have taken refuge in Tanzania.

Ready answers

Each of them was asked this question:

If you had the opportunity, would you accept scholarships to continue your education rather than training to be guerrillas to oppose the white South African Government? Without hesitation each said he would.

Yet these three youths have joined the African National

Congress (ANC), which says armed struggle is the only way to fight apartheid, the system that separates whites from blacks in South Africa. Theoretically, as members of the ANC, they should be among the most militant of the hundreds of new refugees who have fled from South Africa.

Solomon said the thing that most amazed him in Dar es Salaam was not the poverty, compared with South Africa, but the relations between the races.

Recently a woman journalist from East Germany invited him and others to her home for dinner. That was the first time he had been in a white person's home, let alone having been invited to dinner by one.

A single white contact

About 1.5 million blacks live in Soweto, and 12 miles away in Johannesburg live about 1 million whites. Many black adults commute daily to work in Johannesburg, but children go to school in Soweto, and their teachers are black.

The only white person Percy had had contact with before he left South Africa was the man who operated the camera when, at age 16, he went before the authorities to get his identification card.

Saul's contact with whites had come when he was a very young boy. He was on a movie set of a film called "Toka-

loshi," a story about witchcraft. "They wouldn't show hatred toward me because I was young," he said.

In about four hours of conversation these young South Africans told how they were affected by the disturbances, how they escaped from South Africa, and how they first heard about the ANC.

Their conversation was not polemical or full of slogans. Two ANC officials who accompanied them, and who themselves came out of South Africa in the 1960s, occasionally felt obliged to insert some ideology or explanations.

Solomon left South Africa with a passport he had received the year before when he was studying jurisprudence and working with police in Soweto. He had had contact with whites, and he liked one man. "But I could trust him only so far," he said, making a wall with his hands.

He said he had seen one little girl killed in the riots but was not otherwise involved. He had stayed back in the station and listened to the "boasting about gunning down the students" when the police returned from work.

Exit by train

After Solomon resigned — "because you get a conscience" — he wrote a play about inflation. Some students were rehearsing it when Solomon decided the police were after him. Using his passport, he said, he crossed into Botswana on a train; he does not remember the exact day.

Percy described how students stoned one white man to death in mid-June.

Later he was dancing at Uncle Tom's recreation hall in Soweto one night when he heard the police might be looking for him. He said he went underground and eventually left through Swaziland ("jumped the fence") and then moved on into Mozambique after joining the ANC.

In Soweto most teachers were not trusted by the students because they could be collaborators, said Saul. But students confided in him and asked him his opinions.

He was never in any great danger from police, but "you get so enraged that you feel you have got to go out and take the country. I don't know anyone with arms or training, but I am prepared to go back — with guns and not to confront the system with stones."

Saul, a gentle man with a penchant for details, said he walked over the Botswana border at 11:30 p.m. the night of Nov. 10.

None of these three youths belonged to the ANC before they left South Africa. (It is banned inside South Africa.)

Solomon first heard about ANC by reading "Struggle for a Birthright," a book by Mary Benson. He had become curious when he heard his own uncle had been "slandered as a Communist."

Families know

Percy heard of the ANC at Uncle Tom's hall only last year, but Saul had heard about it years ago when he was a boy and an old man used to tell stories around the fire at night. That old man was the first black man to walk (when it became legal) on the sidewalk in Pretoria.

The three young blacks say their families back in Soweto know they are outside. But they add that a lot of students disappear and families think they have escaped when they haven't. A lot are going to the Bantustans (black tribal areas), and police are picking many of them up, they said.

Solomon, Percy and Saul are among the increasing number of exiles who will help shape South Africa's future.



Refugee center, Ovanjo, Namibia (South-West Africa)

Fleeing Angolans clamor for water at refugee camp set up by South African Government in Namibia

China

Can Chairman Hua keep the purge from boomeranging?

By Ross H. Munro
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
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Attacks on real and alleged supporters of the radical "gang of four" have become so disorienting and so indiscriminate in some parts of China that they threaten the interests of Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng.

The anti-radical drive began in early October as soon as the news emerged that the widow of Mao Tse-tung and three other leading radicals had been purged and that Mr. Hua was the new party chairman.

To a greater or lesser extent, the anti-radical drive has evolved into a purge in probably every province in China. At least hundreds,

probably thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands of officials have been effectively dismissed from their posts.

But Peking's pleas for discipline and restraint indicate that Mr. Hua himself feels there are political dangers for him in a purge he had helped unleash but can no longer control.

There is a political purge under way in probably every province in China. The officially controlled press is constantly suggesting that the "gang of four" had its network of supporters in every province and in virtually every important institution.

There is a continuing debate, however, over how broad and how severe the anti-radical campaign should be. To put it in practical terms: How many officials at the lower levels are going to be disgraced and dismissed and

how many will be disciplined, criticized, and then given an opportunity for rehabilitation?

There are at least two problems in all of this for Chairman Hua. The first is that nasty factional struggles create or reinforce long-lasting divisions, grudges, and distrust. This in turn reduces the governability of the country — something Mr. Hua must be thinking of. Thus calls for restraint and discipline in the current anti-radical campaign reflect Mr. Hua's interests.

However, Chinese political tradition does not provide strong grounds for expecting that these calls for moderation will be heeded. Magnanimity toward losers is not a strong element in Chinese political culture.

The other problem for Mr. Hua is the danger that it might isolate him politically. The longer the purge continues unchecked, the more likely it will claim victims who were not among the

hard-core supporters of Mme. Mao.

Any official who associated with radicals or even was willing on occasion to work with them is vulnerable. And it is these people, who were somewhere in the middle in the radical-moderate conflict of the past few years, who can act as something of a counterbalance to Hua supporters in the armed forces and at the top of the bureaucracy.

Purging officials who were in the middle would only increase Mr. Hua's already heavy reliance on the hard core of military men and bureaucrats who were instrumental in putting him where he is today.

Although Mr. Hua is a man of proven political skills, he nevertheless came to power without the sort of political base of old supporters and colleagues that requires a couple of decades in national politics to establish.

China's turn at the oil price wheel

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The new leaders of China must soon make an important decision: how much oil to sell to help finance the modernization they want for their country — and at what price.

With the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) split on the issue of price hikes, China now must decide how low to keep its own prices if it is to boost foreign exchange earnings by increasing petroleum exports to its largest customer, Japan.

The decision could give further clues to just how much the purge of so-called political radicals who opposed exporting Chinese oil has affected the country's foreign trade policy.

Some answers are expected when Chinese officials sit down with representatives of Japanese buyers to discuss a 1977 sales contract. Although a deal has not yet been set, Japanese sources expect the talks to be held before the end of the year, probably in Peking.

Not an OPEC member

China is not a member of OPEC. Yet in the past it has generally followed international price standards, partly, it is thought, to avoid offending Middle East countries.

Now, with Indonesia endorsing a 15-percent price hike by July 1 while Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates support a 5-percent increase, the Chinese may have new room for maneuver without clearly undercutting OPEC standards. This is important because China must keep its oil (which is low in sulphur but high in wax content and therefore relatively expensive to refine) competitive in price with Indonesian oil. Indonesia, whose oil is cheaper to refine but more expensive to transport to Japan than Chinese oil, competes with China to supply low-sulphur oil to pollution-conscious Japan.

In the past Chinese advocates of increased oil exports appeared to recognize the need to keep prices low enough to stimulate Japanese demand — and thus help pay for the large amounts of steel and fertilizer imported from Japan. Analysts suggest the Chinese also sought to keep their prices low enough to prevent a revived Japanese interest in joint oil and gas development projects with the Soviet Union in Siberia.

Beginning in 1973, Japan was the first major overseas market for Chinese oil. Last year, of an estimated 78 million tons



Drilling for Chinese oil — while Peking decides how much to charge for it

of oil produced in China, Japan bought 8 million of the 12 million tons exported.

But by the middle of this year the Chinese were telling Japan that no large surplus of oil was available for export. At the same time China ended negotiations with Japan on an agreement to trade Chinese oil for Japanese steel.

Oil policy debated

The apparent cooling of interest in oil exports coincided with the rise of radical influence in Chinese politics after the passing of Premier Chou En-lai last January. The radicals appear to have obstructed the oil-export policy supported by Mr. Chou and former vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping (who was dismissed in April).

Both men had favored expanded oil exports to finance im-

ports of whole factories from countries like Japan and West Germany. For their part, the radicals wanted Chinese oil saved for domestic use. The import of foreign plants (ended during the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s but resumed in 1972), they argued, would weaken Chinese self-reliance and produce a privileged class of technical experts.

But since the radicals were purged two months ago, Chinese spokesmen have told visitors that Mr. Chou's strategy of promoting economic growth by exporting minerals and oil will be re-emphasized. There will also be more imports of technology, machinery, and whole plants, they have said.

It is still unclear how much oil China will have available for export next year. In the past few weeks the Chinese press has mentioned production problems at Chinese oil fields and blamed them on interference by the purged radicals.

Chou En-lai fast becoming a national hero

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chou En-lai, under fire in his final years from powerful political opponents, is fast becoming a national hero in China posthumously. Mr. Chou's memory is being invoked by the new leaders of China as a symbol of the dedication, hard work, and balanced judgment that they say the country's future will demand.

"This new stature, say analysts of Chinese affairs, represents both a recognition of widespread admiration for Mr. Chou among the Chinese people and a conscious effort to promote the 'pragmatic' policies of economic modernization associated with the late premier.

To further promote that policy, a national conference on industry will be held in China sometime before next May. It has been announced.

The purge last October of Chiang Ching (the widow of Mao Tse-tung) and other so-called political radicals known as the "gang of four" is increasingly being justified those days on grounds that they personally wronged the popular premier while he was alive and blocked a sorrowful public from honoring Mr. Chou after his passing last January.

Several journalists and diplomats with long experience in Peking say they think Mr. Chou's popularity equaled or even surpassed that of the late Chairman Mao. Mr. Chou, they say, was an accessible figure to whom people responded with enthusiastic warmth. But, especially in his later years, Chairman Mao was a

distant figure, highly respected but at times feared for the personal disruptions his unpredictable revolutionary campaigns against bureaucracy could bring.

Mr. Chou was a smooth, gentlemanly, and skillful diplomat who could be tough when necessary but who always displayed an educated refinement. Even though he was a dedicated communist revolutionary, his qualities were those of moderation and shrewdness, which the Chinese have long looked for and admired in their leaders, many analysts agree.

One sign of the new stature Mr. Chou's elevation to his widow, Teng Ying-cho, to an honorary post as vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese legislative body, the National Peoples Congress.

In this capacity she has taken over her husband's old role of receiving distinguished foreign visitors with a combination of personal warmth and diplomatic tact.

This honor to Miss Teng, who married Mr. Chou in 1918, also has served to pointedly contrast their long-term relationship with that of Chairman Mao and Chiang Ching. Each of the latter were married several times, and Miss Chiang has been represented to wall posters as a concubine who rose to power scheming to attract the attention of her husband, who is likened to an emperor.

At the same time, Mme. Mao and her supporters are accused of slanderous Mr. Chou both before and after his passing. Mme. Mao particularly is accused of slander by allegedly attacking Mr. Chou in the form of Confucius, the ancient scholar now in official disfavor in China.

Jamaica lists a bit more to the left

By Geoffrey Gindell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Prime Minister Michael Manley's sweeping confirmation in office in Jamaica general election makes it clear that the incoming Carter administration will have to live with increasingly assertive leftist revolutionary or reformist movements in the Caribbean.

In the Dec. 15 election, Mr. Manley's People's National Party (PNP) won an even bigger share of the seats in Parliament — more than three-quarters of them — than it did when it came to power four years ago.

Mr. Manley's strength comes from his appeal to the mass of Jamaicans — the poor, the unemployed, and those with limited schooling. It is not a racial appeal, since the population of Jamaica is overwhelmingly black and the opposition Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) and its leader Edward Seaga are black. Yet Mr. Manley's following feels particularly black, in the sense that until he became Prime Minister four years ago most of his supporters saw themselves as outsiders in Jamaican society. Mr. Manley preaches not strict Marxism, but what he calls democratic socialism, tinged with a biblical evangelism. (His supporters call him "Joshua.")

This tension between a black proletariat and a black middle or upper-class elite that inherited power and independence from the departing British is not confined to Jamaica in the English-speaking Caribbean. But it is most apparent in Jamaica because of the size of this

land and its population and because it has long been one of the favored tourist havens in winter for Americans, Canadians, and British alike.

Mr. Manley, now confirmed in the Jamaican premiership, continues in the spectrum of leftist Caribbean leaders alongside Fidel Castro of Cuba (the only avowed Communist of them) and Forbes Burnham of Guyana. Jamaica is geographically close to Cuba, and Mr. Manley's growing friendship with Cuban Premier Castro causes concern to both his middle and upper-class political opponents at home and to many in the United States who have interests in the Caribbean.

Indeed some of the more strident supporters of Mr. Manley in the PNP have repeatedly alleged that Jamaica's current troubles — financial crisis, high unemployment, violence, and absence of tourists — were engineered by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA, it was argued by these people, was destabilizing the situation to get rid of Mr. Manley, just as the CIA allegedly "destabilized" the situation in Chile to get rid of the late President Allende.

Mr. Manley himself has said: "The State Department says that they are not interfering with us, and I have to believe it."

If there were allegations from one side that the CIA was plotting its undoing, from the other — Mr. Seaga and the JLP — came charges that Fidel Castro and Cuba were planning a takeover through Premier Manley. The JLP gets much of its support from the middle and upper-class Jamaican elite which feels

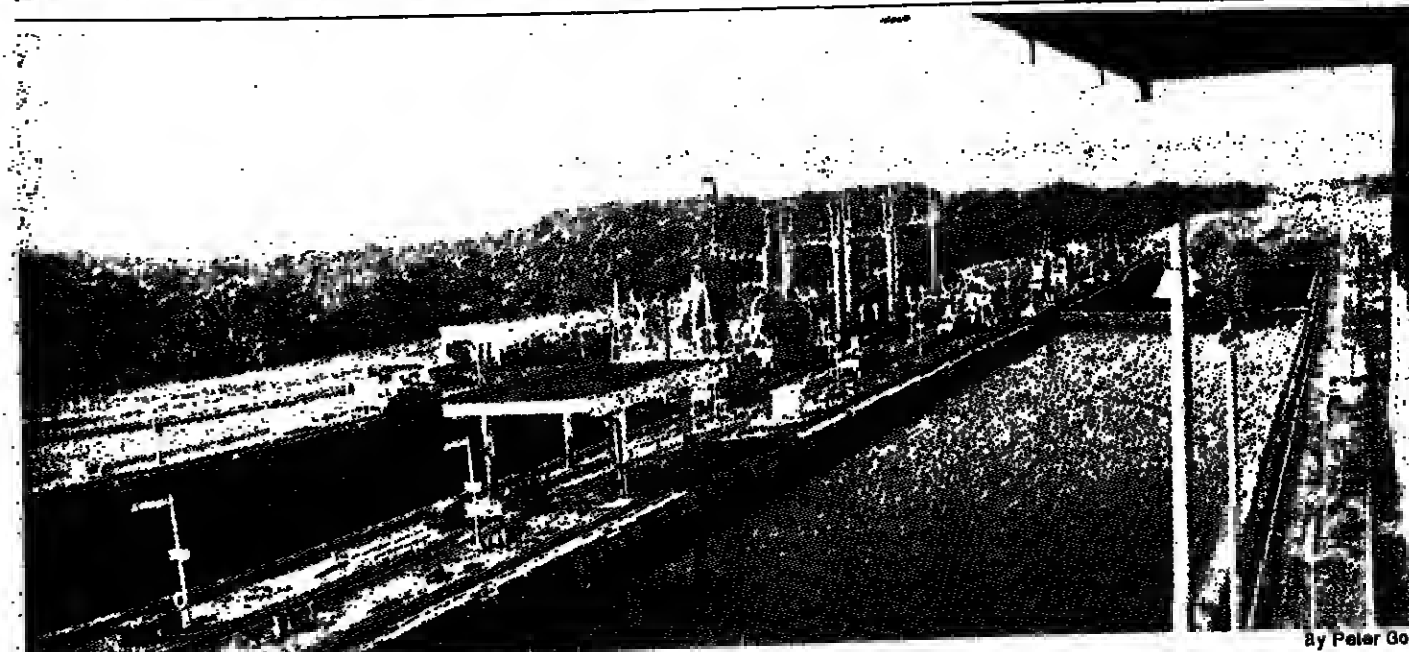


Manley: a friendship with Castro

most threatened by Mr. Manley's "democratic socialism."

The facts certainly are that since Mr. Manley became Prime Minister in 1972, relations between Jamaica and Cuba have improved. Mr. Manley has visited Cuba. Five-hundred Jamaicans have gone to Cuba to learn professional skills — mostly in construction — and 230 Cuban construction workers have been building a school in Jamaica for Jamaicans on the Cuban Premier's orders.

The Cuban "threat" may well be exaggerated. But what causes more genuine concern to many is the long-term prospect for democracy in Jamaica if the violence of recent months is not ended. The elections last week were free — but a state of emergency has been in force since June of this year, and over 400 people continue detained without trial. Most of these, but not all, are opposition JLP rather than PNP supporters.



Seaga Heights along Panama Canal

Symbol of 'Yankaa imperialism' or test of 'new dialogue' with Latin America?

Panama Canal: Carter's first face-off?

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Of all the foreign policy issues facing the new Carter administration, the clock may be running out fastest on the one that has been described as "the most explosive issue in Latin America" — the Panama Canal.

U.S. officials, as well as some nongovernment experts on the subject, now say that if the pending negotiations between the United States and Panama over the status of the Panama Canal break down, a guerrilla war against the canal zone is not only quite conceivable but even "probable."

The Panamanian Government's initial reaction to Jimmy Carter's most recent remarks on the issue was that Mr. Carter, during the election campaign, "raised the price" for a new treaty between the U.S. and his country on future control of the Canal Zone. Some of Mr. Carter's foreign policy briefers seemed genuinely surprised that he had taken as apparently hard a line as he did in debate with President Ford, saying that "I would never give up complete control or practical control" of the zone. Where Mr. Carter will go from

there, no one professes to know. Some of his advisers now stress his willingness to negotiate. But if he sticks to a hard line, Latin American experts predict, there will be trouble.

Military experts say, in the meantime, that one well-conducted commando raid on the 50-mile-long canal could knock it out of business for as long as two years.

According to one estimate by the experts, it would take 100,000 American troops, along with considerable air and naval support, to defend the canal against 10,000 guerrillas. Even with that level of armed force, however, the military could not guarantee the continued operation of the canal. At present the United States has 8,000 to 9,000 servicemen stationed in the area.

U.S. negotiators are hoping, of course, that the matters never reach the stage where the vulnerability of the canal becomes the issue. But negotiators' task was not made easier by the situation in Panama has already contributed more than once to student unrest. The student groups are small but vocal.

According to the experts, unless General Torrijos can get some kind of settlement out of the Americans which looks reasonable in the coming year, he is likely to face trouble not only from the student activists but also from more influential quarters.

Latin America

Montoneros promise more terrorism in Argentina

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

"The fascist military are pushing us hard," commented a member of the left-leaning Montonero guerrilla organization, "but we still have got plenty of aces up our sleeves."

Those words were uttered in an interview only a couple of days before a terrorist bomb blew up an auditorium in a defense ministry building here. In the wake of the Dec. 15 blast, the military is likely to step up its campaign against the Montoneros, who claim credit for the bombing that killed 11 persons and wounded another 20.

The Montoneros promise more such incidents. Whether they have the capability to sustain such operations is not clear. But there is a strong feeling here that previously expressed optimism that Argentina's military government has the terrorist problem nearly licked may have been premature.

Only five days before the recent blast, President Jorge Rafael Videla had said in an interview that his government "is very close to final victory" over the leftist terrorists.

If that is so, people here are asking, how was it possible for the Montoneros to plant a bomb in a defense ministry building? Such a feat takes organization and daring.

Commenting on the explosion, the English-language Buenos Aires Herald suggested that "despite earlier such incidents, there are obvious deficiencies in security measures."

There is no doubt here that the military has been having considerable success in its anti-terrorist campaign. The leaders of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP), one of the two main terrorist groups, have been killed or are in detention, and its rank and file is largely decimated.

But the Montoneros, the other main group, are still very much in evidence. Their claim of responsibility for the latest blast included a comment that the explosion was placed by the group's new "Ejército Norma Arrostito Comandos." Miss Arrostito, a leading Montonero, was shot to death by security forces Dec. 3 after a three-year hunt sparked by her role in the kidnapping and assassination of former President Pedro Eugenio Aramburu.

The Montoneros obviously continue to possess a high level of mobility — a fact that belies the government's assertion that, from a security point of view, the terrorist problem is nearly finished.

The Montonero leadership is largely intact, as are its ranks.

The leaders, who claim to want "the end of the fascist government" and "to replace it with a government of the people," say they are at war with the military.

"We will win because the people are with us," one Montonero leader said recently. Most observers dismiss such remarks as rhetoric.

A significant majority of Argentines are simply tired of the terror and violence and, for now at least, lend their support to the government's efforts to root out the guerrillas.

Moreover, despite the continuing Montonero activity, the general feeling in Buenos Aires is that the military has the capability of eliminating the terrorists and that it is only a matter of time before this happens.

New Zealand to increase beef imports to U.S.

By the Associated Press

Wellington, New Zealand — New Zealand will be able to increase its beef exports to the United States by 8.5 million pounds in 1977, Overseas Trade Minister Brian Talbot has announced.

He said New Zealand would enter into a voluntary restraint agreement with the U.S. covering shipment of 288.3 million pounds of beef to the American market in 1977, more than under any previous agreement.

Middle East

Israel: why Rabin called for an early election

By Francis Olier
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tel Aviv, Israel
Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's surprise move in dissolving his government coalition and advancing general elections from November to spring or early summer is good for Israel — and good for Mr. Rabin's own political position.

That is the assessment of seasoned observers here. The advantages gained are both of an international and internal political nature.

Under Israel's constitutional law, the moment new elections are declared the government must remain in power on a caretaker basis until a new post-election Cabinet is formed. Even if he is defeated on a vote in the Knesset (Parliament), where he no longer commands a majority, Mr. Rabin cannot be toppled from power during this interim period.

Thus paradoxically, for the first time since

he became Prime Minister in June, 1974, Mr. Rabin now will have several months of freedom from threats of ministerial resignations and similar pressures. He will be comparatively freer to act than ever before.

Clear to respond

Practically, this will mean that the Israeli Prime Minister will be in a position to respond to any peace moves without the restrictions that hampered him when his Cabinet included three ministers of the strongly nationalistic National Religious Party.

True, defense Minister Shimon Peres and a number of other hawks continue to sit in the government. But, unlike the theologically motivated ministers of the National Religious Party, the hard line of Mr. Peres and his allies is based on security reasoning. And after all, security is something close to Mr. Rabin's heart too.

Thus the new situation might enable Mr. Rabin, in case of successful negotiations at a reconvened Geneva conference or elsewhere, to come before the Israeli electorate with a draft settlement proposal without risking the dissolution of his existing government coalition.

If such a draft — at best a peace treaty, at worst (in the Israeli view) an agreement ending the state of war — were sufficiently attractive for the Israeli voter, the majority might approve substantial territorial withdrawals in return. In that case Mr. Rabin's big gamble would become worth the personal risks involved.

U.S. backing needed

However, to foster such a development Mr. Rabin would need strong support from the incoming United States administration and something more substantial than spoken peace initiatives from the Arab side.

An agreement with any of the Arab countries will have to be "filled with meaningful

content," Mr. Rabin's supporters say, if he is to remain in power. Otherwise the risk is that he will be succeeded by a more hawkish government.

"Meaningful" in this context would call for arrangements enabling open Arab-Israeli trade, free movement of tourists, cessation of hostile propaganda and boycotts, and the end of guerrilla activities against Israel.

Mr. Rabin still insists that the problem of the Palestinians has to be solved within the framework of a Jordanian-Palestinian state. But should the forthcoming convention of the Palestine Liberation Organization, scheduled to be held in Cairo next February, cancel those provisions in its charter that call for the destruction of the state of Israel, Mr. Rabin might then soften his stand. It is too early to say whether he would go so far as to agree to a kind of federative Jordanian-Palestinian state, with the Palestinian part consisting of most of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Much will depend on how genuine Arab peace moves look in Israeli eyes.

Center meeting sought

To clarify the situation with Washington, Mr. Rabin is seeking an early meeting with Mr. Carter after the latter's inauguration. But judging from first informal reactions from medium-level officials at the State Department, such a meeting now has become "questionable," since it could be interpreted as American interference in Israel's elections.

On the internal political front Mr. Rabin for the first time has succeeded in demonstrating that he is the boss of the Labor Party. This, his associate says, may deter Defense Minister Peres from putting up his own candidacy for the premiership at the Labor Party convention in February. However, friends of Mr. Peres seem determined to challenge Mr. Rabin's leadership regardless of the Prime Minister's latest move.

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Saudi oil decision has a price tag

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Doha, Qatar
Saudi Arabia's refusal to agree to hoist world oil prices by 10 percent on Jan. 1 has political price tags attached, both for itself and for the United States.

Delegates of Saudi Arabia's more radical Arab adversaries, and of other OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) states, which would not agree to the moderate 5 percent increase of Saudi oil, flew home from their conference here muttering about disunity and about Saudi-U.S. "collusion."

Far more important, Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Yamani now is on record as demanding speedy action by the incoming administration of U.S. President-Elect Carter on the Arab-Israeli dispute.

The Saudis, as Sheikh Yamani told both newsmen and other OPEC delegates here, also would like to see much more U.S. understanding in the North-South economic dialogue in Paris for the growingly dramatic plight of the developing countries.

World reaction indicative

World reactions to the split OPEC price decision — a 10-percent rise, with 5 percent more added automatically next July 1 by 11 of the 13 OPEC members but only a 5 percent rise by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates for all of 1977 — show the ever-present but increasingly visible link between oil and Middle East politics, which U.S. policymakers must face.

When asked by newsmen whether there were any Saudi arrangements with or commitments made to U.S. Secretary of State-Designate Cyrus Vance or President-Elect Carter to stand against a significant price rise (the Saudis began the conference by opposing any increase but compromised on 5 percent Dec. 16) Sheikh Yamani said:

"We don't have any arrangements. But I want you to know that we expect the West to appreciate what we did, and especially the United States, and that appreciation has to be shown on two different fronts."

"No. 1, the North-South dialogue in Paris and No. 2, the Arab-Israeli conflict. And there must be peace in the area as a sign of appreciation. The Geneva conference [on the Arab-Israeli conflict], which all parties have proposed reconvening, or any other conference, is only a means and not an end in itself. The end is peace."

Saudi position clear

Mr. Yamani made it clear that the Saudi desire was not to impede the somewhat slow recovery of the world economy.

On the Arab-Israeli conflict, Mr. Yamani said, "We are noticing some encouraging signs, and I hope these are valid. If there were lack of appreciation of the Arab position in the near future, then the political incentive for the Saudis to continue being moderate on oil prices will be gone."

Other Arab OPEC delegates explained privately that they were skeptical that the Carter administration would be prepared to put pres-

sure on Israel, as the Saudis hope, to admit Palestinians to the Geneva peace talks or to move out of occupied Arab territory.

This skepticism was expressed in acid terms by Iraqi Oil Minister Tayib Abd al-Karim, who had earlier advocated a 26 percent oil price increase to "partially compensate" for inflation in the prices of imported Western goods.

Mr. Abd al-Karim charged in a Baghdad Radio broadcast after returning home that Shakh Yamani had tried to "emasculate" OPEC to serve Western plans for a settlement in the Arab region. He had sought to impose Saudi custodianship over the OPEC states without regard for the interests of the Saudi people or the "third world" states, he said.

Will Israel talk to PLO?

By Francis Olier
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Jerusalem
As Israel faced the prospect of early general elections, the results of an opinion poll published here showed that nearly half of all Israelis would favor peace talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization if the PLO recognized the state of Israel.

The poll, conducted by the Port Institute of Tel Aviv for the newspaper Haaretz, showed 47.5 percent in favor of talks with the PLO and 52.5 percent against. The rest were undecided.

The survey was taken before the present Cabinet crisis. But it points to a trend within the public that has not been lost on the government.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the Knesset (Parliament) last Monday that he was recommending early elections. Now only the date remains to be decided.

Israel's readiness for negotiations for a peace settlement will be one of the major issues in the election campaign.

Negotiations imply cession of territory by Israel. The dihard National Religious Party (NRP), which Mr. Rabin has dismissed from

his coalition government, opposes any evacuation of territory. Ending the coalition with the NRP opens the way to negotiations. It is in just such simple terms that many Israelis see Mr. Rabin's "forward leap," as one Israeli daily puts it.

The attitude of the public toward the Premier has noticeably improved since the Cabinet crisis erupted.

But the nationalist opposition, headed by Menachem Begin, also welcomed the decision to call early elections. "This Cabinet has for a long time been in a state of disintegration," Mr. Begin said. He added that he was convinced he would come to power as a result of the elections.

As a prolude to his election campaign, Mr. Begin submitted a motion of no-confidence to the Knesset in a bid to topple the Cabinet, which no longer has a majority in the chamber.

Mr. Rabin apparently was determined to deny the opposition leader such a gain in prestige. Some of his aides said he was planning the resignation of his entire Cabinet, which the law entitles him to do. The Cabinet would then remain in office until a new one was formed. It could not be voted out of office.

From page 1

*To ring Comrade Ivan . . .

The Central Committee of the Communist Party has launched a new drive to improve and widen service. It admitted recently that the system is simply failing to keep up with the economy's needs. In this sprawling nation, whose 11 time zones span 5,600 miles, good telephones are vital.

According to a recent Western estimate, the Soviet Union still has only 5.7 telephones per 100 persons — compared with 65.5 in the United States, 52.3 in Canada, 34.1 in the United Kingdom, 28.7 in West Germany, and 21.7 in France.

Sometimes telephones don't work at all — such as at the Ingur power plant in the mountains of Soviet Georgia, where the phone is so bad that a car and driver are kept on duty at all times to rush messages to the outside world. A complaint appeared in the Georgian newspaper Zarya Vostoka (Dawn of the East) Dec. 2.

The Central Committee says telephone capacity rose 150 percent in the five years to 1976. And although the quantity of wrong numbers does seem higher compared with the West (to judge by individual experiences here), making calls here is usually straightforward.

In the call to Kiev, the first "8" obtained the long-distance line, the "04" was the code for the Kiev region. The next "2" pinpointed Kiev itself. The next six digits were the number in Kiev. The last seven were the number in Moscow from which the call was placed (necessary because it was an old exchange; from newer ones these numbers are omitted).



"Wait for our next five-year plan"

And yet, for all the progress, construction of necessary automatic switching stations lags behind schedule. It can take five years to put up a single one. Some of the equipment must be imported. Workmen take their time.

Meanwhile, new apartments and administration centers are being built. According to the government newspaper Izvestia three years ago, officials do not plan carefully enough to match new buildings with new telephones. Lead-in cables are in short supply. In Orenburg, the paper said, only 17 houses out of 104 could be fitted with cables.

Even one of the best features of Soviet tele-

From page 1

*Rhodesia plan

The aim is to have the new plan ready for British mediator Ivor Richard to take with him in his briefcase when he shuttles around southern Africa at the turn of the year.

Ambassador Richard theoretically is back at the UN post here over the Christmas season. But, in fact, he is deeply preoccupied with Rhodesia, visiting Washington Tuesday and Wednesday to discuss the situation with Or. Kissinger.

U.S. backing essential

The British are known to feel that American backing is absolutely essential, especially in persuading South African Prime Minister John Vorster of the merits of the fresh approach. Both the current administration and the new Carter administration are authoritatively described as highly supportive of the current British efforts. It is hoped that Mr. Vorster, who controls Rhodesia's lifeline, will in turn shift Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith from his current rigid adherence to the original Kissinger plan, which is rejected by the black nationalists.

At the other end of the spectrum, the British and Americans hope to persuade Rhodesia's black nationalist leaders to draw back from their demand for an almost immediate black take-over.

A moderating influence here are the "five presidents" of the black nations nearest Rhodesia. They are understood to favor continuation of the Geneva talks, which adjourned

Dec. 14 and are scheduled to resume Jan. 17.

In particular, Mozambique's Samora Machel, in whose country most of the Rhodesian nationalist guerrillas are based, is described as backing a combination of talks and guerrilla warfare. The guerrillas, with their Soviet weapons are seen by such African leaders as the main thrust pushing Mr. Smith toward acceptance of majority rule.

Elements of plan

The revised British plan for Rhodesia includes the following elements:

- Some form of British presence, a resident commissioner or governor general, in effect would replace some of the functions of the Council of State proposed by Or. Kissinger. Because this council would have had a white veto (two white, two black members with a white chairman), the black nationalists feared it might provide a back door for continued white rule.

- What role the British "presence" would have has not yet been outlined in detail. The Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe (perhaps closest to the guerrillas) waives Britain's role to be minimal, basically ceremonial, with power held by a black majority government.

- A constitutional committee would take over the other main function of the Council of State — drawing up the eventual independence constitution.

- The ministers of the interim government would be selected in advance by the Geneva

phones works against the planners. Calls are still very cheap by Western standards, but costs keep rising. A local call from a public box is only 2 kopecks (2.6 cents), as it has been for 16 years. And the call is unlimited. Inter-city calls can be dialed directly from special public booths. The most expensive call (10 cities more than 600 miles away) costs only 25 kopecks (2.6 cents) per minute.

A private telephone costs a flat fee of two rubles, 50 kopecks (\$3.41) a month, paid by filling out a sheet in a book of forms and delivering it with the cash at the nearest bank or post office. Long-distance calls are billed separately. (Check-writing is largely unknown here.)

Yet wages have gone up more than four times since the last rate change. New phone network stations are financed by loans from the state bank, but the money cannot be repaid later because profit margins are so small.

And to raise phone rates would be ideologically difficult for Soviet rulers.

One other aspect of Soviet telephones needs improvement: telephone manners. Too often, writes a commentator in the newspaper Evening Moscow, phones are slammed down with a grunt "He's not here," even before the caller can pronounce the name. Officials in Moscow have asked people here (the city has about 2.1 million telephones) to limit calls to four minutes. But monitoring equipment is inadequate. So people talk on and on and on while lines form outside public booths and tempers rise.

conference. One proposal is that the whites have one-fifth of the seats in a one-chamber government — for instance, seven out of 35 or five out of 25.

Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of one of the black nationalist factions and a popular figure in Rhodesia, has called for elections to find a prime minister of the interim government who would then help choose ministers. But this proposal is derided by the other black nationalists and is dismissed as technically too complicated by the British.

- The vital issues of who will control the defense and interior (police) portfolios in the interim government remain unresolved.

- Mr. Smith publicly holds out for both positions in white hands. Conversely, the Patriotic Front insists on blacks holding both.

Bishop Muzorewa has come up with a complicated formula for an inner Cabinet group or national security council with responsibility for defense and police that would include whites, blacks, and the British commissioner.

The British privately have fostered the idea of appointing Britons to the two disputed posts — a possibility greeted with acorn by Rhodesian Foreign Minister P.K. van der Byl.

All these issues currently are the subject of intense discussion in both London and Washington. Although the Geneva talks are scheduled to resume Jan. 17, this date, which precedes Jimmy Carter's inauguration and may not give Ambassador Richard sufficient shuttle negotiating time, may well be delayed.

From page 1

*Oil spill

The Coast Guard has denied the charge, saying current cleanup equipment does not work in seas higher than three or four feet. The tanker broke in half Dec. 21 after running aground on shoals off Nantucket on Dec. 15.

The Coast Guard had oil-containers booms capable of working in rough seas standing by in the early stages of the accident. But according to on-the-scene observers, it did not have

enough boats to tow the barriers to the site of the spill.

The oil slick, at this writing, was moving southeast and had covered a small "Up of Georges Bank. State officials are concerned over a major economic impact to the tourist and fishing industries in Massachusetts.

"The technology has been there for several years," says Jack Wilson, an engineer with the Naval Facilities Engineering Command. "We

bought our first small skimmer from JBF in 1972, for a move up to a larger one [for Gulf] was a logical development."

"They just didn't have a client that was willing to finance them."

Gulf Oil's decision to buy the large JBF skimmer is the first time a single oil company has made such a commitment, according to Mr. Blaud. "They've bought oil cleanup equipment through industry groups, but never just one company."

While Mr. Blaud sees Gulf's purchase of the skimmer, for about \$1 million, as a significant commitment from the industry, one oil pollution control expert terms it evidence of, in industry "foot dragging."

"If the industry had devoted just a fraction of the money they spend on oil development to pollution control, then even if things like the Argo Merchant couldn't be prevented, their impact and the damage could be lessened," he says.

From page 1

*Jews and Arabs

Israeli elections normally come in the fall of the year. Events are moving too fast now for peace talks to wait that long. Mr. Rabin is expected to campaign on a pro-peace program. Sentiment in Israel is believed to be shifting in the peace direction because of inflation and the other consequences of living too long in a war economy. If Mr. Rabin can get a solid electoral mandate to pursue peace he can go to the conference table with a convincing posture. If he went now without a new mandate he would almost certainly be undercut at home by those who either from fear or from land hunger oppose the territorial concessions which are essential to a settlement.

Nothing in this situation guarantees that the 30 years of Arab-Israeli war will end in a lasting agreement. There are elements on both sides which will resist the only kind of peace which is possible. The Arabs will have to accept Israel as a permanent part of the Middle East condition. It is almost impossible for any of the Palestinian refugees in accept this concept. It is extremely hard even for Arabs who have not been touched directly by Israel. Few leading Israelis are indigenous to Arabia. Most are cultural Europeans. To the Arabs these Israelis are intruders who have wrongfully displaced Arabs from their ancestral homes.

Stimulus for money

Among Israelis there are both emotional and practical reasons working against a settlement. Some of the most orthodox Jews favor keeping all the territories which were overrun in the 1967 war. Many military officers consider control of the same occupied territories to be essential to Israel's military security. And it is historic fact that Israel's besieged condition has been the main stimulus for the flow of money from overseas which has been essential to Israel's economy. How much money would be sent to Israel after a peace settlement?

Thus it would be more comfortable for many on both sides of the Middle East conflict to continue in a state of unresolved hostility no matter what the price. The old condition has come to seem normal. A true settlement would seem abnormal. For Arabs and Israelis now to accept each other as friends and fellow residents of Arabia would be as difficult emotionally as for the Protestants and Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland. There, they build walls between their respective streets. They find it impossible to live side by side as neighbors.

Also, there are terms essential to any settlement which would be extremely difficult for both sides to accept. UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim told this newspaper last week that he sees "concrete possibilities" for peace in the present situation which are now, and for the first time, being "seriously discussed." He cited the problem of Palestine Liberation Organization representation at a revived Geneva peace conference.

But that is only the least of the problems which will have to be surmounted or surrounded.

How much territory?

Israel is probably willing to return much of Sinai to Egypt, but many an Israeli leader, in on record as saying that, they dare not give up the Golan Heights, Sharm el-Sheikh, and effective military control over the West Bank of the Jordan. Also the feeling is strong in Israel about the Old City of Jerusalem. Zionists are accustomed to ask: "What is Zionism without Mr. Zion?"

But the Old City of Jerusalem is as important to Muslims and Christians as it is to Jews. Both would probably settle for internationalization of Jerusalem, not for continued Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. And both would want protection which does not now exist for other places in Palestine which are important to them. Christians believe that Israel is either deliberately or carelessly damaging the environment of special Christian interests. Modern high-rise buildings are changing the skyline of Jerusalem.

Egypt and Syria expect to get back virtually all of the pre-1967 territories. They probably could accept minor border changes, but not as much as most Israelis seem to want and expect to keep.

The rapids ahead are going to be dangerous. It is not certain that Arabs and Israelis can ever get through them with their present governments intact, if at all. But the attempt to shoot those rapids is no longer avoidable. Both boats have passed the point of no return.

United Nations



By a staff photographer

Waldheim — Invitation to the Mideast

Tackling Mideast, Africa

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

It now is clear that two of the most important foreign policy issues facing the United States will require quick decisions by the incoming Carter administration.

• Mideast. The preliminary maneuverings aimed at a resumption of the Mideast peace conference at Geneva early next year already are under way.

• Southern Africa. Not only is the Rhodesia conference (also in Geneva) due to resume in mid-January, but the UN Security Council is expected to take up the whole spectrum of southern Africa in a full-scale debate starting next month. Headlines of the new U.S. administration to use its veto in defense of South Africa may well be tested.

The U.S. Government is deeply involved in both these issues. In particular, the Arabs are looking to the U.S. to help find some formula that would enable Palestinian representation at Geneva without prompting an Israeli boycott. The General Assembly has called on UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to contact all the "parties to the conflict" (implicitly including the Palestine Liberation Organization) and report to a meeting of the Security Council no later than March.

Meanwhile, the Africans are hoping the U.S. will apply sufficient pressure on the Rhodesians via South Africa to prevent a total collapse of the Rhodesia talks. Jimmy Carter's appointment of Georgia Congressman Andrew Young as U.S. Ambassador to the UN has raised African hopes of a sympathetic U.S. policy toward black Africa.

Two weeks ago the Arabs took their current "peace offensive" one stage further with an Egyptian invitation to Mr. Waldheim to visit Cairo and other Mideast capitals next month. At the same time, the Secretary-General discussed the Mideast, among other things, with both co-chairmen of the Geneva conference — the Soviets and the Americans.

Mr. Waldheim had a "farewell" meeting with Soviet first

deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov Dec. 15; had a similar encounter with outgoing U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger the next day; and breakfast the day after that with incoming Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

Diplomats here warn against overinterpreting such meetings. They stress the very tentative nature of these contacts, particularly at a time when Mr. Carter's foreign policies are not settled.

Another Western diplomat comments on the remarkable success of the Arab peace offensive during this transition period. In this view the peace offensive has "swept the press along like a tidal wave," distracting attention from Egypt's problems with finances and military spare parts and from Syria's difficulties with its neighbors.

The timing of Mideast peace moves now looms as one of the crucial difficulties. American officials want as much time as possible for the new administration to study the various hazards. But too great a delay will risk getting any peace talks tangled up in the Israeli election due by next October at the latest.

There is no obvious way, however, for the new U.S. administration to avoid taking early decisions on southern Africa.

The Rhodesia conference, which adjourned two weeks ago, is due to resume Jan. 17. That date may well be pushed back. But neither it nor the vote on whatever Security Council resolution is put forward next month on southern Africa can be delayed indefinitely.

The assumption here is that Andrew Young, himself just back from Lesotho where he took part in a conference on southern Africa sponsored by the New York-based African-American Institute, will be much more open-minded than most of his predecessors to African aspirations.

In addition, it is pointed out, his close relationship with Mr. Carter and the prominent part played by blacks in Mr. Carter's election probably insure that Mr. Young will have a powerful influence on the new President.

Cyprus dispute uproots Greek-Cypriot villagers

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The village of Yialiasa is tucked into the rolling foothills of the Penaktylos range of Turkish-held, northern Cyprus.

Until a few months ago about 1,800 Greek-Cypriot farmers, their families, and workers lived in the small white houses along its winding streets.

Then groups of Turkish Cypriots began to arrive, claiming house after house as their own. Today, Yialiasa's Greek-Cypriot school is closed, and fewer than 500 of the village's original inhabitants remain. They "voluntarily" agreed to leave before Christmas and join the 200,000 other refugees in the southern, Greek-Cypriot, sector of this troubled island.

This melancholy tale is only one of those outlined briefly in the UN Secretary-General's latest report on Cyprus to the Security Council. It goes to the heart of the continuing impasse over any negotiated solution to the strategic Mediterranean island's passionate feud and its far-reaching implications for the West's southern defenses.

For by March, according to all estimates here, virtually all

the Greek Cypriots who once lived in the north will have "transferred" to the south. The division of the island will be complete.

Since all attempts so far to build political bridges between the two divided communities have failed, a de facto partition has occurred — with the UN's peace force in the embarrassing position of, in effect, enforcing it.

The 2,700-man peace force, which was given another six-month mandate by the Security Council, faces at least three major difficulties:

• It has been unable to reach agreement with the Turkish authorities in the north on unrestricted movement there. Hence it has been unable properly to check out numerous reports both of harassment of the remaining isolated Greek Cypriots such as in Yialiasa and of looting of Greek-Cypriot property.

• Since the informal cease-fire following the Turkish invasion in 1974, the UN force has allowed farmers from either side (mainly Greek Cypriots) to enter the buffer zone to attend to their crops.

This year, however, Turkish-Cypriot farmers in several

areas, backed by Turkish troops, have tried to move into what up to now has been Greek-Cypriot land in the buffer zone. Resistance by the UN force to these incursions has sometimes resulted in fist fights and gunfire, and the dispute remains unresolved.

• The UN force is moving further and further into the red financially. Its deficit is about \$45 million. Troop-contributing countries such as Canada, Britain, Austria, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden are none too happy that they are not being properly reimbursed.

There is no sign whatever of any moderation in the rigid positions taken by both sides.

The Greek Cypriots insist that territorial concessions must be offered first by the Turks to bring the Turkish-held areas (two-fifths of the island) nearer to the Turkish-Cypriot population (one-fifth).

The Turkish Cypriots insist that the Greek Cypriots must first accept the constitutional division of the island into two federated states with a weak central government.

Neither side will give way. No desire to negotiate can be discerned here.

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Japan: Fukuda finally gets the crown

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Takeo Fukuda, once described as one of the princes of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), was crowned Thursday as political leader of Japan.

On two previous occasions the prime ministership eluded Mr. Fukuda: first when former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka's drive for power swept aside his claims by right of seniority, and second when Mr. Tanaka was forced to resign hastily because of shady financial dealings. Instead of selecting Mr. Fukuda to replace Mr. Tanaka, the LDP elders then decided on an interim neutral — or "Mr. Clean" — candidate to lessen friction among party factions grappling for power.

His choice was Takeo Miki. His selection was meant merely as a stopgap measure; no one seriously expected him to last any longer than it would take to arrange for the real transfer of the administration to Mr. Fukuda

or a third figure, Masayoshi Ohira, the finance minister under Mr. Miki and leader of a large and influential LDP faction.

But the political timetable was upset by the Lockheed payoff scandal disclosures, and Mr. Miki suddenly found himself in more than a caretaker position. The public and news media called upon him to investigate the scandal fully and to divulge the names of government officials involved in the payoffs.

Mr. Miki promised to pursue the scandal and produce the guilty officials. As a result, Mr. Tanaka and several other LDP members who had held ministerial posts were indicted. For his pains Mr. Miki received the lasting enmity of the LDP.

A vigorous battle for the leadership of the LDP ensued between Mr. Miki and Mr. Fukuda behind the scenes prior to the country's general elections earlier this month. A "council for party unity," composed of 277 LDP members of the Diet Parliament out of total of 391 in both upper and lower houses, stressed their support of Mr. Fukuda as president of the

party. Prime Minister Miki was asked to resign.

Mr. Miki held on, but Mr. Fukuda was picked as the virtual "shadow president" of the party and ran an election campaign as if the Prime Minister did not exist.

While Mr. Miki commanded great personal support for his individual stand on Lockheed, the voters handed the LDP a jolting setback at the polls. Bereft of political support for his reforms, without backing from the influential business community, and deserted by the voters, Mr. Miki was forced into a traditional face-saving device of resigning to take responsibility for the LDP's humiliation. In the end, the Prime Minister was obliged to take upon himself all the collective ills of the party.

Inflated with election successes, opposition parties spoke of forcing the LDP into a coalition with Mr. Miki. Miki bolted the party in protest with his critically needed 31-member faction of followers. But he proved to be the consummate loyalist by agreeing to put LDP survival ahead of bitter feelings against his rivals. By doing so he saved the LDP from further disorder and chaos.

Mr. Fukuda promises to "reform" the LDP by eliminating factions and introducing increased intraparty "democracy." Yet he has already named Mr. Ohira to be LDP secretary-general and it is expected that the majority of Cabinet posts will be filled from other strong factions, including that of Mr. Tanaka.

Like Mr. Tanaka, Mr. Fukuda was once arrested on suspicion of accepting bribes — in 1947 — but was released for lack of evidence. At the time he was an aspiring bureaucrat in the Finance Ministry and due for advancement to vice-minister, the highest civil service post.



AP photo

Takeo Fukuda: new Prime Minister

Ten years after the scandal, Mr. Fukuda was cleared in the bribery case by Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi. Observers note that Mr. Kishi spent time as a suspected war criminal in the same prison with Yoshio Kodama, a key payoff man in the Lockheed scandal. In recent years Mr. Kishi was an honored guest at the wedding of Mr. Kodama's daughter.

Against this background, one Japanese bureaucrat, in response to a question about the effect on the LDP of Prime Minister Miki's resignation, answered, "Now it's back to square one."

Indonesia: Has Suharto delivered the goods?

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Has Indonesia's President Suharto delivered in the 10 years since strongman Sukarno, the founder of modern Indonesia, was overthrown? Has this oil-rich country of 137 million people made enough economic progress over the past decade for General Suharto to be able to justify the authoritarian way in which he has run it?

These are expected to be the key questions as campaigning is stepped up for Indonesia's general elections in the spring. And as the elections approach, the Suharto government finds itself on the defensive because of growing criticism over charges of widespread corruption and massive indebtedness as a result of bureaucratic mismanagement.

Although the President himself is not subject to re-election until 1978, Indonesian and foreign observers alike say his personal prestige — and the ability of his government to inspire confidence in its economic and social development programs — may be on the line next May. His ruling Golkar Party won 60 percent of the popular vote and all but a handful of parliamentary seats in the last elections five years ago and seems almost certain to win more votes than its closest rival this time.

Confidence shaken

But confidence in the government among the student-intellectual circles — which 11 years ago rejected former President Sukarno in favor of Mr. Suharto — already has been damaged by the corruption and indebtedness problems. And many observers suggest that the President's stature could further decline unless Golkar can prevent substantial opposition gains next May without rousing widespread suspicion of election manipulation.

The President himself has not been accused of corruption, but the government's inability so far to convince its critics that the problem is under control has embarrassed him personally and has undermined his authority, observers say. He has gone so far as to deny, publicly, that he and others in his family are guilty of wrongdoing.

"According to Japanese tradition," said one observer, "a leader of authority should not have to openly . . . defend himself against critics."

The allegations of mismanagement stem from the extra indebtedness that the country has had to bear — estimated to some quarters to be as high as \$8 billion — because of the operations of the state oil company, Pertamina. One of Pertamina's main problems was that it engaged in numerous expensive projects that had only the most tenuous links to oil. Last March President Suharto fired the president-director of the company, along with his leading associates.

Censorship eased

So far, preparations for the election have led to some relaxation of the on-again, off-again informal censorship of the Indonesian press. For example, Indonesian journalists say that overseas editorials now are allowed to criticize the government indirectly by pointing to such problems as the use of public office for personal gain — so long as no names are mentioned. But observers concede that a growing tide of criticism has left the government on the defensive and eager to establish that there are still limits beyond which critics should not go.

These observers see significance in the degree of official emphasis given to two recent developments — a so-called "letter plot" urging President Suharto to resign and an announcement that a group of Muslim students had planned to assassinate the President, his wife, and Admiral Sudono, the national security chief.

According to the observers, the government is anxious that these developments not be seen to have weakened the President's moral authority in ways that a coalition of Roman Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, and mystic leaders might take advantage of.

In its bid to win support at the polls, the government can be expected to point to a reduced inflation rate, rural educational improvement programs, and a program of agricultural development through electrification and the building of roads and bridges. It also can call on a strong Army organization that extends into the countryside and on the support of village chiefs to mobilize votes.

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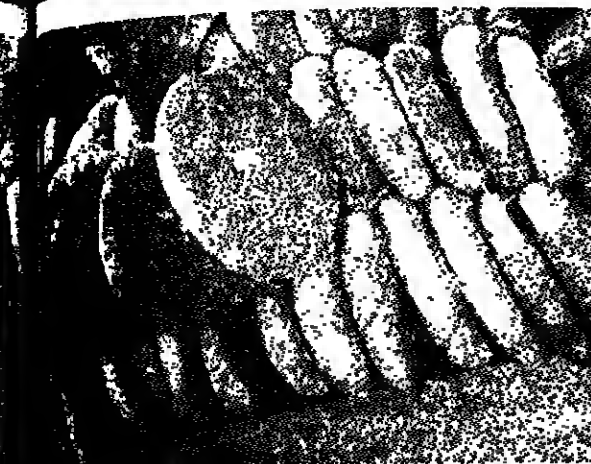
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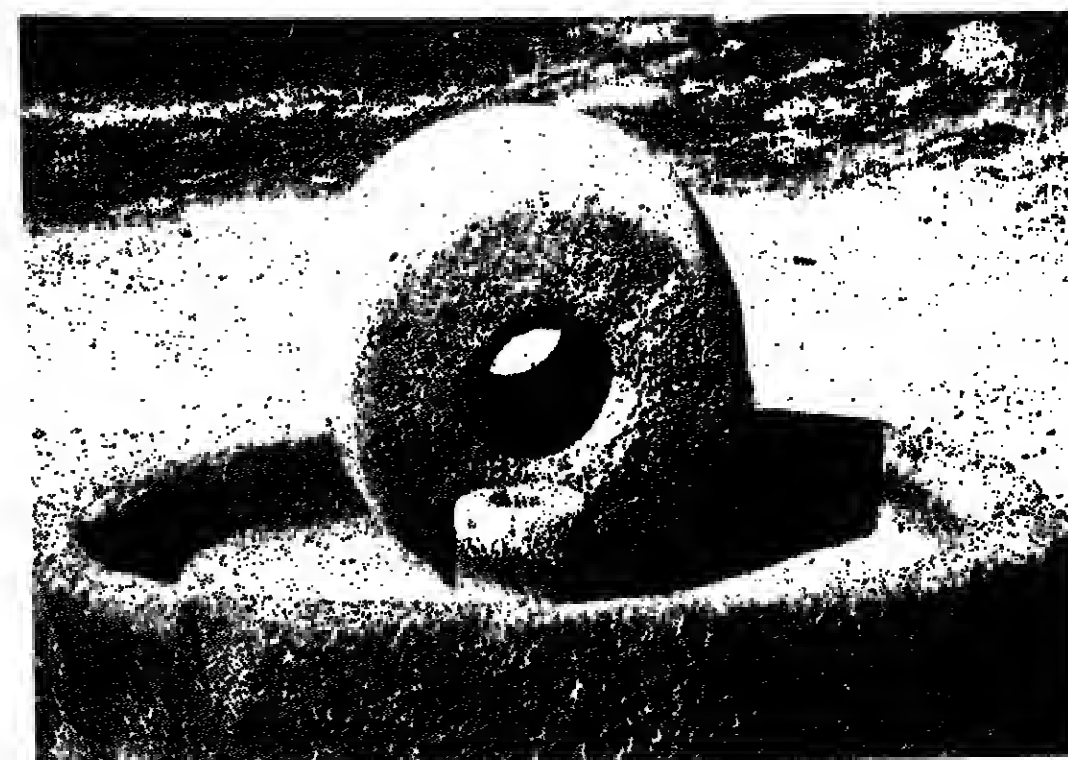
"St. Peter's fish" from the Sea of Galilee



Bread of Tiberias

"And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit in Galilee: and there went out a fame of him through all the region round about. And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all."

Luke 4:14, 15



An olive press at Capernaum



THE LAND OF JESUS Galilee

By Gordon N. Converse
Chief photographer of
The Christian Science Monitor

The Sea of Galilee, also known as Lake Tiberias, Lake Kennereth, and Lake Gennesaret, is the largest body of fresh water in the Holy Land. One's first view of it from the pastoral highlands above is likely to be startling; the lake nestles 686 feet below sea level.

In the time of Jesus there were a great many towns and villages by the lake, especially on its western shores. But Tiberias, the most important town today, is little mentioned in the Gospels.

It was in Capernaum, at the northern end of the lake, that Jesus did much of his preaching and remarkable healing work. On the Galilean shores nearby, many believe, he fed the multitude, on the hills above the city, preached the Sermon on the Mount, and in the local synagogues healed and taught through simple parables.

His parables were so often related to the land and lives of the Galileans that today one can sense a special closeness to the Gospels here.



Ruins of the synagogue at Capernaum, which may be on the site of the one in which Jesus preached

Mark records (Chapter 1:16-18) that it was when Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw Simon Peter and his brother Andrew "casting a net into the sea" that he called them to become "fishers of men." Today "St. Peter's fish" are a staple in Galilee. A fisherman (left) returns to Tiberias at dawn with a night's catch.

people

Interview with Indira Gandhi's cousin

India: 'a dictatorship — comparable to Hitler's Germany'

By Siewnrl Dill McBride
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
Cambridge, Mass.

Nayantara Sahgal projects the strong but gentle presence so often associated with her uncle, the late Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister. But these days, the well-known Indian political journalist and novelist loses her patience when the subject turns to her country's retreat from democracy and the authoritarian reigns of her cousin, Indira Gandhi, the present Prime Minister.

Mrs. Sahgal, who is emerging as one of the Indian Government's most outspoken critics, said in an interview here with the Monitor, that her husband had become a "dictatorship comparable to Hitler's Germany."

"If you no longer have an avenue to disagree with government, if you can be put into jail for criticizing the government, if all your property can be confiscated, if your taxes can be raised as reprisal for what you say, whatever you call it, an 'emergency' or the 'rise of fascism,' it is all the same."

"I think you can live very well and peacefully in India today if you keep your mouth shut. But that is, after all, not the way people who live by ideas can live," she continued.

Mrs. Sahgal is among the hundreds of Indians who have left their homeland since June, 1975, when Mrs. Gandhi declared a national emergency and subsequently asked Parliament to rewrite portions of the Constitution to bolster her own political power, imprisoned thousands of her political opponents without trial, and imposed strict news censorship. This year as Prime Minister she has twice postponed the nation's general elections.

Arrived in U.S. last May

Mrs. Sahgal arrived last May in the U.S., where she has been a visiting research associate at the Radcliffe Institute and was putting the final touches on "a book about Mrs. Gandhi's emerging political style," when interviewed.

Mrs. Sahgal, already the author of some seven books (including "Prison and Chocolate Cake," the story of her childhood and India's struggle for independence), moved on the Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, at the end of November where she is teaching a six-month creative writing course. Her plans after that are indefinite.

Criticism of Mrs. Gandhi from Mrs. Sahgal's side of the family is nothing new. In October Mrs. Sahgal's mother Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (Nehru's sister), told the New York Times, in an interview in India, that she was "profoundly troubled" with the direction Mrs. Gandhi was taking. Mrs. Pandit, who served as India's ambassador to the U.S. and Soviet Union and was the first woman president of the United Nations General Assembly, said:



Nayantara Sahgal
By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

"You can live very well in India today if you keep your mouth shut"

"It is far more repressive today, in many ways, than it was under the British."

Now 76 years old and retired, Mrs. Pandit has avoided arrest largely because of her birthright and her previous political prominence. Mrs. Sahgal has no such protection and doubts whether she could return at this time without being arrested. Even in Cambridge, her activities were monitored by the Indian Government, she said.

"They seem very interested in what I have to say," said Mrs. Sahgal, referring to a recent seminar she gave at Radcliffe which was attended by a representative of the Indian Embassy who had flown from Washington for the occasion.

Prior to Indian independence in 1947, Mrs.

Pandit and her daughter, Nayantara Sahgal, lived in the same small house with Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi. "My mother and father lived with my uncle (Nehru) in the same home . . . they were all in and out of jail. It was that kind of home, completely involved in the national movement," says Mrs. Sahgal.

Regime called 'artificial'

Mrs. Sahgal believes that the present authoritarian regime is "an artificial one," wholly apart from the Indian tradition of political diversity and tolerance. She maintains it is a product of Mrs. Gandhi's own personal weakness.

Mrs. Gandhi declared the "emergency" a few weeks after the High Court in her home

town of Allahabad found her guilty on June 12, 1975, of illegally using government officials during her successful 1971 campaign for reelection to Parliament. Her conviction, coupled with general frustration in India over the economy, sparked mass rallies and demands for Mrs. Gandhi's resignation. In what she maintained was an attempt to save Indian democracy from internal subversion and brutal discipline, Mrs. Gandhi clamped the "emergency," which is still in effect today.

Mrs. Sahgal says, "Any change in the situation will most likely come from within her own party, unless of course it comes from violence. And when you close all the legitimate avenues of protest, stop letting people express themselves through the press, you've blocked all the safety valves, and it explodes in violence, which can only mean replacing one dictator with another," says Mrs. Sahgal. She adds that large nonviolent demonstrations against the government occurred early this year but were never reported in the Indian or foreign press.

While Mrs. Gandhi recently released a number of her jailed opponents, continued censorship of news has effectively muzzled critics. "A political party needs to be able to speak its views to be able to object to what is happening in Parliament," says Mrs. Sahgal. "The censorship has put Indian society right back into the Middle Ages. Now we have to wait for oaths from travelers, such as someone coming from Bombay who tells us that there has been a meeting or there was a protest."

All of the "emergency" measures Mrs. Gandhi has enacted have been constitutionally sanctioned, and she has acted "within the four corners of the Constitution," admits Mrs. Sahgal, who adds: "But so did Hitler. For each step he took, he invoked some article of the Weimar Constitution."

Critic of intelligentia

Mrs. Sahgal is particularly frustrated with the failure of India's intelligentsia to resist Mrs. Gandhi's regime. "I found people who had been to college in India, who would say, 'Oh, Mrs. Gandhi is not a dictator. She has cleaned up the streets and stopped the strikes so we can produce more.' But that is exactly what the educated Germans said in Hitler's time. They didn't discover until after the war, when all the atrocities came out, what Hitler had been doing all those years."

One of Mrs. Gandhi's acts which most disturbs Mrs. Sahgal (as well as some of Mrs. Gandhi's staunchest supporters) is the rocketing of her 29-year old son Sanjay into a position of prominent political power. While the young businessman holds no elective office, overnight, he has become a de facto Cabinet minister and her apparent.

Mrs. Sahgal says rumors that Sanjay now is controlling his mother from behind the scenes are "quite possible." But it is not as simple as that. While Mrs. Gandhi poses as the radical to satisfy demands for change, he (Sanjay) is able to keep business and industry happy because of his well-known anti-Communist views," she says. Mrs. Gandhi's alliance with India's Communist Party, as well as her friendship with the Soviets, is a boon "not of ideology, but of political opportunism," says Mrs. Sahgal.

Mrs. Sahgal is quick to stress India's previously unique position in Asia as the world's most populous democracy. "We took the road less traveled by. We achieved our freedom [from the British] without violence. It was fought in the open. There was never an element of hatred or conspiracy. We arrived at independence without hatred."

"India has everything to go against democracy, particularly the large portions of its people who cannot read. But we will make it a democracy by giving it our dedication. We shall make something where it is not," says Mrs. Sahgal.

Despite the grim picture she paints, Mrs. Sahgal says she still holds hope for the return of democracy. She recalls the bitter words of her uncle, Nehru, on the death of Mahatma Gandhi: ". . . the light has gone out of our lives, and there is darkness everywhere . . . but this light shall return to shine for more than a thousand years."

science

Do galaxies collide in space?

By David F. Salisbury
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Picture a ring of stars and gas so large that it takes light 100,000 years to travel from one side to the other.

In the last 20 years, astronomers have discovered only a dozen galaxies with this unusual shape. They have found large numbers of galaxies with whirling spiral arms, others that are egg-shaped, and a number of other standard forms. But the ring galaxy has proven quite rare and its origins are mysterious.

Now, Edward A. Spiegel of Columbia University and John C. Theys of the State University of New York at Stony Brook, having studied these rare formations with a computer, conclude that they probably are the aftermath of head-on collisions between galaxies.

Reporting in a recent issue of the *Astrophysical Journal*, the two argue that grav-

itational tides produced when one galaxy is "hit" by an intruder in a collision that lasts hundreds of millions of years stir the dust and gases in the galactic disk into an outward expanding ring of newborn stars.

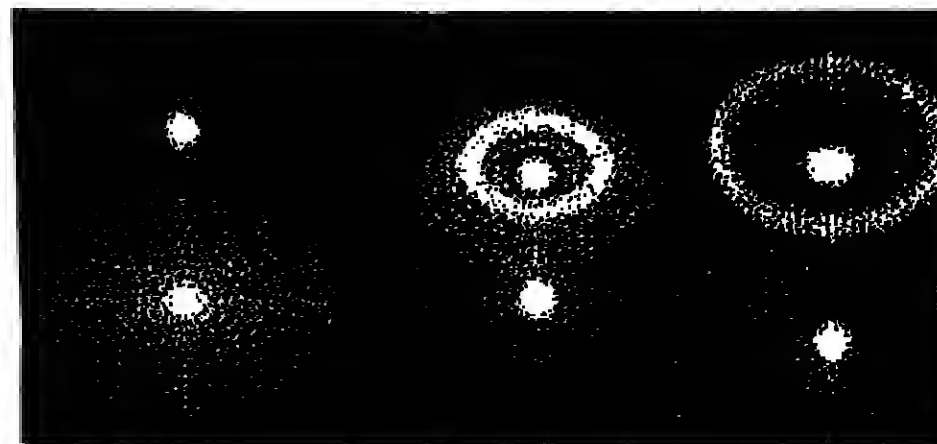
"They are such strikingly beautiful objects," Professor Spiegel explains when asked why he began studying ring galaxies. Also, he says, the rings are an unstable form for galaxies to take. Therefore, they must be only hundreds of millions of years old, a mere eyewink compared to the 10 billion years astronomers allot to the period of galaxy formation.

Depending on how two galaxies collide, three different types of rings can be formed, the scientists believe. One is a perfect ring with a dark interior. A second type has a star cluster off center inside the ring. The third kind has a dense knot of stars on one side of the ring itself.

According to the computer study, when one galaxy hits another dead center and at right angles to its galactic disk, a perfect ring will form. Oblique angle collisions result in the other two ring types.

Galactic collisions form a ring because the interstellar gas which makes up about 10 percent of the substance of a galaxy is swept into this shape. This concentration of gas gives birth to new stars. And new stars provide most of the galactic glow.

If this proposed mechanism is correct, then dim, older stars should still be in the dark central portion of the ring. Dr. Theys thinks he



How ring galaxies form

The first drawing shows an intruder galaxy approaching the flat of a disk galaxy. In the second the intruder pierces the disk displacing matter from its center. The collision stirs dust and gases into an outward expanding ring of stars (last drawing). The intruder then forms a companion galaxy.

may have detected infrared (heat) rays from these stars in one ring galaxy.

As the star-studded rings decay, they bend and finally break down into a number of smaller galaxies, according to the computer simulation. The process takes 500 to 600 million years, says Professor Spiegel.

The computer program also predicts that after "some billions of years" these smaller galaxies eventually merge into a concentrated ball of stars and gases. These stellar conglomerations may ultimately turn into quasars, the most energetic objects yet found in the cosmos.

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'Harmless' chemicals may not be

Pollution formed in air from everyday cleaners

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Some of those "harmless" chemicals that clean your clothes, take grease off metal, or remove paint may turn into poisons when they get into the environment. Dry cleaning chemicals, for example, react in the air to produce phosgene, a poison gas once used in war.

Moreover, contrary to what has been assumed, the chemicals probably find their way into the stratosphere. There, some of them could pose a threat to the ozone layer beyond that already associated with propellants in spray cans, according to Hanwant Bir Singh, who studies this kind of pollution at the Stanford Research Institute.

Dr. Singh concludes from his studies that it is not safe to thoughtlessly release even chem-

icals that in themselves may be harmless. "One needs to know where such chemicals go and what they turn into, before calling them safe," he adds.

Tonnages substantial

Phil Hanst of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which helps support Dr. Singh's research, makes the same point.

The chemicals involved are halocarbons. These include such compounds as chloroform and vinyl chloride, as well as the fluorocarbons used in some spray cans. Dr. Hanst notes that the supposedly harmless members of this chemical family are released worldwide in million-ton amounts. "These amounts are considerably greater than the fluorocarbon releases," he says. "While harmless in themselves, the reaction products of the chemicals in air are almost always toxic," he adds.

Knowing this, and knowing that the growth curve of use for the chemicals is rising rapidly, Dr. Hanst says: "In my opinion it is cause for concern."

He adds that he does not want to alarm the

public in saying that. He knows of no immediate threat of direct poisoning. But he feels people must awake to the fact that harmless chemicals can turn into poisons that, even in low concentrations, might have chronic harmful effects.

Pollution unsuspected

Both Drs. Hanst and Singh point out that people release these chemicals freely partly because even experts thought such pollution would quickly disappear. Dr. Singh now doubts this.

He illustrates the point with his work on phosgene, which he described in a paper published in the December 2 issue of *Nature*. "Taking data at several urban and suburban points in California, he found significant amounts of poisonous phosgene which tended to persist. Even a heavy overnight rain removed only 20 percent of it at one location. "It seems clear that phosgene is removed only slowly from the atmosphere," he concludes.

Dr. Singh notes that the dry cleaning chemicals that react in the atmosphere to form phosgene are produced globally in amounts of some 1.5 million tons annually, as of 1975. About half of this is made and used in the United States. "However," he explains, "these chemicals are used all over the place. It really is a worldwide problem."

Theories 'obsolete'

As he studies the fates of these various chemicals, Dr. Singh finds the chemistry of air pollution to be far more complex than believed. Halocarbons, thought too ephemeral to reach great heights, in his opinion, probably do get into the stratosphere. Some of them could destroy ozone, which screens out solar ultraviolet rays.

While he thinks the evidence linking spray can propellants with ozone destruction still holds, Dr. Singh says that previous theories of how these and other chemicals interact in air now seem to him oversimplified and obsolete.

Right now, EPA is concerned about some 60 chemicals. However, Dr. Hanst says he lacks authority to do the kind of investigation he feels needs to be done to trace their possible hazards.

Dr. Hanst has been asked to recommend action to be taken under provisions of the toxic substances control law passed this year by Congress. He is urging that research to trace the full history of chemicals in the environment be given high priority.

So you want to be a rock 'n' roll star . . .

By Madora McKeozia

So you want to be a rock 'n' roll star, then listen now to what I say. First get an electric guitar . . . and a synthesizer, and a backup vocal group, a manager, a gimmick.

Making it in the pop-music world is a little more complicated than what the Byrds were singing about rock 'n' roll stardom in the '60s. More and more the pressure these days is to "make a record," and a hit record at that.

To do this one needs to be signed by a record company, and to do that one has to be heard by someone like Larry Ural, the man who among other things discovered singer Barry Manilow and turned Bell Records into a million-dollar operation. Mr. Ural has recently started his own record company. His aim: "to be bigger than Bell, of course," he laughs.

Larry Ural is quick to explain that he is not a record producer. "I'm not the guy who goes into the studio and produces the record. I have the guy who does that." You could call him a record director as he is the man that gets everyone — artists, engineers, etc. — together to produce the final product, a record. He also takes part in the handling, or packaging, of the artist.

"Packaging is very important," he explains. "Making sure the recording has a high standard of quality, the timing on when the album is released, the promotional graphics as well as the artwork on the album cover, it all counts. Of course, a well-packaged, no-talent act can go far. On the other hand, a talented act can get lost in the shuffle."

Mr. Ural is not the flashy PR type one usually envisions in the recording industry. A native New Yorker, he jumped from being a retailer in women's sports clothes to part ownership in a song publishing firm to 12 years with Bell Records, and now is involved in a joint venture with EMI records, Private Stock Records. He is bluntly honest about some of the people he has recorded, saying of one, "The public liked the packaging. Now we'll see if they like what's inside."

He says he signs all his recording artists by using his instinct. "I rely heavily on it, and so far, it's worked." But to be heard by Larry Ural or just about anyone else in a similar position, one has to make a tape and make it rounds to all the record companies. The idea is that simply by the law of averages, someone will hear it. "Unless a group has been specifi-

cally recommended to me by someone I trust, I won't go to a club to hear a new act," he says.

The tape, he advises, had better be of good quality ("professional sounding"). For him original material is always interesting, but far from essential.

Now let it sound as though no one could ever be discovered going this route, there is a recent story of a group called the Walter Murphy Band, newly signed by Ural. They have a million-selling record on the charts called "A Fifth of Beethoven," which was a disco version of the opening of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

"How did they get to Larry?" They dropped off a tape. They also left one at about every other studio in town. Some of the record companies never even listened to it. Fortunately for me, I did. Ural now is working with the group on a new album, which includes a funky rendition of "The Flight of the Bumblebee" by Rimsky-Korsakov.

The greatest advantage to musicians starting out today, according to Mr. Ural, is that the music industry right now is wide open for anything. We're really in a trendless period, and I think we probably will be for some time. So anything can be a hit.

home

Put it on wheels
and away it goes

By Marilyn Hoffman

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Slide it under. Push it away. Draw it up. Pull it to another room.

Mobility for furniture is the demand of many households today. Casters, which can be added by anyone, any time, provide the answer. They swivel easily and move freely in any direction to make furniture more flexible in use, and therefore more practical. Easily movable furniture makes housework and entertaining easier and adds to the convenience and pleasure of everyday living.

Casters can be added to coffee tables, bedside tables, cribs, children's furniture, sofas, occasional and upholstered chairs, sewing machines, footstools, cabinets, TV stands, dressers, record cabinets, planters, wood boxes, bookcases, or whatever.

Discuss your needs with any friendly salesman at a good hardware store. Before making the selection, consider the size of the caster in proportion to the size of the furniture to which it will be attached, and the degree of mobility desired. There is a selection guide on each box.

Select casters, too, for the type of floor on which they will be used. Metal tread casters move best on carpets. Rubber tread casters are best for hardwood and tile floors. Thermoplastic casters can be used on both carpet and some hard surface floors. And these come in different colors such as beige, brown, frost white, and black. Metal casters come in several finishes, such as satin chrome, bright chrome, bright brass, satin brass, antique copper.

One clever father has constructed an unusual seating area along one wall of the basement playroom. He used two old flat doors as the base for two slab cushions of foam rubber slipcovered with cotton corduroy in bright red. The door-cushions were suspended on two-inch-by-four-inch black legs. The open area beneath was considered the toy "garage." But to make the toys easily accessible, and for quick order and organizing, the father built a series of wood box bins and set them on casters. These can be easily rolled in and out of the storage garage. That way the games, blocks, books, dolls, and toy cars are kept separated. And the children can do a quick cleanup on short notice of the playroom when mother sounds the alert. (top sketch).

Another father, in an effort to provide sleeping space for his young daughter's overnight guests, fashioned a plywood trundle bed to slide under his youngster's four-poster bed. It is a simple box, big enough to encase a single foam rubber mattress, mounted on casters.

At lower left are wooden crates, mounted on casters, to store logs for the fireplace and to house barbecue equipment and a hibachi grille. Such rolling crates also make good toy boxes.

Heavy plants need moving around from patio or terrace back to hallway or living room and what's more help than a planter, or planter platform, on casters?

One homemaker bought a series of unfinished Parsons ta-



Sketches by Ann Matthews

Provide household mobility with casters on everything from tables to planters

bles in various sizes, mounted them on casters, lacquered them white, and now uses them for a variety of purposes — serving tea as shown here (middle left), to hold plants in front of a window, as a behind-the-sofa table which must also sometimes double for supper buffets.

The point to remember is that casters can add as much as two inches to the height of a piece. The helpful hardware man can help you figure out instructions on the package and advise on the best type of caster for the weight it must sustain, and the type of floor on which it will be used.

The ultimate in hors d'oeuvres

A fancy spread for the holiday table

By a staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Pâté has been described as the ultimate in hors d'oeuvres, a luxurious cold meat loaf, or a fancy liver spread. Whatever the definition, pâté should be part of the holiday scene. It's special — like the season.

Pâté is often made with a combination of ground meats and pork fat; it can also be made with brains, sweeter, or liver sausage, which is already ground and blended with herbs and spices. It is a tasty time-saver for preparing pâté and its economical, too.

Perhaps your choice is toast cup tarts filled with a quick combination of liver sausage, sour cream, and seasonings.

For a more decorative presentation, a pâté can be molded with beef consommé, olives, and hard-boiled eggs. It's firm yet spreadable.

If you're adventurous, take the time to prepare the most elegant of all — pâté en croûte. A layered filling of ground meats, cooked chicken strips and herbs is wrapped in a flaky crescent roll dough before baking. The baked

pâté is chilled overnight before slicing. This version is best served on plates.

Pâté en croûte

1 tablespoon (1 envelope) unflavored gelatin
1 can (10½ ounces) beef consommé
1 hard-boiled egg, shelled and sliced
6 pickled stuffed olives, sliced
¼ pound (8 ounces) liver sausage
3 tablespoons finely chopped green onion
1 teaspoon fresh lemon juice
¼ teaspoon ground lemon rind
Dash liquid red pepper seasoning

Soften gelatin in ½ cup of the consommé in a small saucepan. Heat and stir over medium heat until gelatin is dissolved; add remaining consommé. Pour into a measuring cup. Pour ¼ cup consommé mixture into 2-cup mold which has been placed in a bowl of ice and water. Swirl gently until thin coat of set gelatin builds up inside mold.

Arrange center egg slices and 8 to 10 of the olive slices on bottom and part way up sides. Spoon ¼ cup consommé mixture over bottom.

tion. Chill in ice water while preparing pâté mixture.

Heat liver sausage with a fork; stir in green onion. Chop remaining egg and olive slices; add to liver sausage along with lemon juice and rind and liquid red pepper seasoning. Stir in remaining consommé mixture. Carefully spoon over partially set mixture in mold.

Chill several hours until firm. Unmold on serving plate. Serve with crackers. Makes 8 servings.

Liver Pâté Tarts

8 thin slices sandwich bread, crusts removed
¼ pound (8 ounces) liver sausage
2 tablespoons dairy sour cream
2 teaspoons instant minced onion
1 teaspoon salt
1 teaspoon Dijon-style mustard
¼ teaspoon thyme

Cut bread slices into quarters; press each square into a buttered miniature baking cup, about 1½ inches in diameter. Bake in preheated 400 degree F. oven 8 to 10 minutes until lightly browned. Cool. Mash liver sausage, add remaining ingredients, stirring until blended. Spoon about 1 teaspoon bruschetta mixture into each tart. Refrigerate until serving time. Garnish with chopped parsley or paprika. Makes 32.



Three festive spreads for company

France spurs businessmen
to pursue foreign trade

With several decades of European business reporting behind him, Philip Whitcomb looks at how France is fighting its current economic malaise. Second in a two-part series.

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

French Government economists see the resurgence of medium and small businesses to compete aggressively for foreign trade as a basic cause of France's shortfall in exports.

These firms are the cautious majority of the 14 million registered businesses in France. Most of them are family owned.

The government has been working hard to stimulate and aid these potential exporters. Efforts to set up export groups have been persistent and include the following advisory organizations:

• The French Center for Foreign Trade in Paris and its 14 provincial branches provide information and aid in establishing contacts everywhere abroad.

• The French Insurance Company for Foreign Trade, also a Paris-based government agency, with seven provincial branches provides protection for exporters.

• The French Banks for Foreign Trade, with 14 provincial offices, arrange export financing.

• The government's Institute of Industrial Development (IDI) guides firms that are in difficulties though basically sound and it encourages them to provide capital.

The latest in the series of government efforts, however, is taking a more psychological approach.

For example, the Nouvel Economiste's Man of the Year award didn't go to any of the thousands of French managers trained at Hor-

at Wharton, of the great Ecole

Commerciale maintained by the Paris Cham-

ber of Jouy-en-Josas, or at the Harvard-inspired European school of management at Fontainebleau.

The award went to Laurent Boix Vives, a self-educated man who 21 years ago took over the management of a little struggling family-owned firm in a small town in southwest France. The company makes the Rossignol ski. This year 22 percent of all the skis bought in the world will have been Rossignols.

The new psychological approach also includes blunt statements of fact. This shift away from the gaulian axiom, "affirmations of greatness create greatness," may scatter some of the pink clouds that have been obscuring the public's view of the economic situation. The shift has been evident in precise economic warnings by President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

Two aspects of the current economic crisis may be noted as vital, one alarming, one reassuring.

• The alarming aspect is evident in the increasingly vindictive declarations of socialist, Communist, and far-Left leaders, who between them have been winning an average of 52 percent of the votes in by-elections. They say that social justice — a burning issue with French voters — and economic stability can never be achieved until the present capitalist structure is replaced or destroyed.

• The reassuring aspect is historical. The franc has been devalued more than 20 times since 1914 and, valued by the contemporary dollars of that year and of 1976, has shrunk to less than one-fiftieth of its 1914 value.

But the physical resources of France still exceed those of any other European country. Its individual scientists and technicians are unsurpassed. Its workers are almost unanimously devoted to their work, and work well.

The official motto of the City of Paris may well be applied to all of France. Freely translated, it reads, "Rocks about a bit, but never sinks."

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day interbank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (c) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	West German Mark	French Franc	Dutch Guilder	Belgian Franc	Swiss Franc
New York	1.00	1.6315	1.223	205	4065	27630	1108
London	5940	1.00	2514	1191	2415	116412	2440
Frankfurt	23624	32684	1.00	4737	9803	6527	37905
Paris	49875	82955	21112	1.00	28274	137855	20489
Amsterdam	24600	33947	10413	4332	1.00	106790	14056
Brussels (c)	36325	84014	153220	72506	14723	1.00	142679
Zurich	24343	42981	12004	4881	3995	86759	1.00

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: 8038; Australian dollar: 1.0840; Danish krone: 1722; Italian lire: 201158; Japanese yen: 1034104; New Zealand dollar: 8490; South African rand: 1.1800.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

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INTERNATIONAL
HIGHLIGHTWater drive
pays off

London

British environmentalists are very happy about one aspect of last summer's severe drought: water conservation campaign results. The campaign resulted in permanent conservation of certain water supplies. During the crisis, many industries installed re-cycling equipment so that mixed cooling water could be used over again. Use of this emergency measure has encouraged these plants to continue and even expand the re-cycling process. Water-agency officials in several areas report reduced industrial consumption of 15 percent or more.

In a broad-ranging interview, Dr. Martínez de Hoz admitted that the crunch in his program hits the average wage earner, who has a difficult time recognizing the improving economic picture when his own pay envelope does not stretch so far as it used to. He became rather cynical, particularly as he hears about the tremendous grain harvest expected this year.

All this should be good for Argentines. But the average worker, who man on the street, the small farmer, has yet to see the results in his own life. To slow the inflation rate, Dr. Martínez de Hoz adopted an austerity policy, including wage freezes that have been lifted only slightly on two occasions, in July and September, to permit slight pay boosts.

A third increase, likely to total something between 15 and 20 percent, is due in early January.

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financial



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Brimming harvest bins line Argentina's Rio de la Plata

Why steaks aren't quite
as thick in ArgentinaBy James Neilson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Buenos Aires
The trouble is that Argentines have been used to good living, to thick steaks, and to expensive habits. During earlier times of economic trouble, the steaks remained as thick and the thousands of restaurants in Buenos Aires as crowded as ever.

But today the restaurants are not doing so well. Prices are too high. And even with a January wage boost, they are unlikely to fare better.

But the world price on most grains is down sharply just when Argentina is likely to have its biggest wheat crop ever.

The harvest under way is expected to yield 12 million tons. It could go to 14 million if conditions continue as favorable as they were in the first two weeks of the harvest.

When this crop was sown, the world market price for wheat was around \$140 a ton; now it is about \$95 owing to a worldwide glut in the grain.

For Argentina, this means less foreign earnings, a continuing high treasury deficit, and little tax relief in the year ahead, despite the strenuous efforts of Economy Minister José Alfredo Martínez de Hoz to bring some order out of the economic chaos he inherited last March. That was when the Argentine military seized power and removed President María Estela Martínez de Perón.

Dr. Martínez de Hoz has accomplished a great deal in the past eight months, bringing the economy back from near-collapse.

• A slowing of the inflation rate from a whopping 800 percent per year to one of about 160 percent. The 1977 rate may be held to 120 percent.

• A move out of recession, which in the first quarter of the year was a 3.5 percent decrease in gross domestic product, to a slight increase for the final quarter, as well as a cut in the federal budget deficit from 13 to 5 percent.

• A significant improvement in the foreign debt picture — from defaulting on loans in early 1976 to a situation now that Dr. Martínez de Hoz calls "perfectly in order."

All this should be good for Argentines. But the average worker, who man on the street, the small farmer, has yet to see the results in his own life. To slow the inflation rate, Dr. Martínez de Hoz adopted an austerity policy, including wage freezes that have been lifted only slightly on two occasions, in July and September, to permit slight pay boosts.

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BUSINESS
HIGHLIGHT

Irish woo Merrill Lynch

Dublin
The Republic of Ireland hopes to attract the world's largest stockbroking firm, Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner, and Smith of New York to set up new headquarters here.

Merrill Lynch International has taken no decision yet on the possibility of going Irish. But this decision may be swayed by the Irish Government hint of extending tax exemption to cover service industries' export profits as well as those from manufacturing.

Merrill Lynch could bring 700 well-paid jobs to Ireland. As well, Ireland hopes the thundering herd could lead a rash of financial institutions and money into a country which loudly welcomes outside investment — and just as loudly dissociates itself from nationalization schemes currently driving money away from neighboring Britain.

sports



The men were left out in the cold as Sports Illustrated chose Chris Evert (left) for its 1976 top athlete award and specially cited six other women. The others (left to right): top row — Dorothy Hamill, Rosalind Wiseman, Nadia Comaneci; bottom row — Judy Rankin, Sheila Young, Kornelia Ender.

Chris Evert win sends Bruce Jenner to the showers

By Ross Atkins
Sports writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Just when a lot of people were expecting to see Olympic decathlon champion Bruce Jenner splashed across the cover of Sports Illustrated, the magazine's editors have thrown readers off-balance with an unexpected change-up. Jenner not only lost out in SI's athlete of the year sweepstakes, he didn't even make the final list.

Instead, Chris Evert was made "Sportswoman of the Year" and six other outstanding women athletes were named honorable mention members of "Evert's court." They are Rosalind Wiseman, Sheila Young, Dorothy Hamill, Kornelia Ender, Nadia Comaneci, and Judy Rankin. There were several men candidates — Jenner, Tony Dorsett, Joe Morgan, Julius Erving, and Jack Nicklaus — but they essentially were passed over in the special year-end issue.

As to why the more traditional "Sportsman" award was shelved for at least another 12 months, Jane Gilchrist, SI's press information

director, said, "Our editors thought it was a great year for men, but a spectacular one for women."

"Actually Chris is our Athlete of the Year. We just don't call it that because the award is for more than just winning," Evert, fittingly enough, was also recognized for "the quality of her effort and the manner of her striving."

Gilchrist diplomatically explained that citing six women in addition to Evert did not necessarily mean that Jenner and his male compatriots finished lower in the pecking order. "We don't have first runners-up like they do in the Miss America contest," she stated.

Actually, it seems, Evert's selection would have had greater impact if the Jenners, Dorsett, etc., had not been given such fleeting attention.

Such a strong case can be made for choosing Jenner, for example, that glossing over his gold medal performance at Montreal masks it appear he was written off along with all other male candidates. According to Gilchrist, though, that is not the case. She says Evert

was in head-to-head competition with "The World's Greatest Athlete," even if it doesn't look that way to some observers.

For the record, the editors of SI deemed Evert's domination of women's tennis over the last three years — her tenacity, consistency and grace under pressure — of greater athletic impact than . . .

• Bruce Jenner's record-setting Olympic decathlon triumph, in which he impersonated a bionic man by running the 100 meters in 10.94, high jumping 6 ft. 6 in., and pole vaulting 15-9 — not to mention solid efforts in seven other events.

• Joe Morgan's back-to-back selection as the most valuable player in baseball's National League. The epitome of the all-around player, Morgan has been the statistical superior of teammate Pete Rose, SI's 1976 "Sportsman."

• Tony Dorsett's ground-gaining odyssey with the top-ranked University of Pittsburgh football team. "T.D." not only became the first player to gain 6,000 yards in a career, he waltzed away with the coveted Heisman

Trophy and turned a daddled program around.

So these were the leading men Evert had to hurdle en route to Sports Illustrated's cover, her first solo on the front. Twice before she shared the spotlight with former beau Jimmy Connors.

Chris posed for the picture last month in London, donning a copy of the Victoriano dress Maude Watson wore in winning Wimbledon in 1884. The mood is "you've come a long way, baby," which of course, is the rallying cry of a major women's tennis sponsor.

SI actually took its first big step toward "liberating" the publication when in 1972 Billie Jean King was named Sports Illustrated's and UCLA basketball coach John Wooden Sportsman of the year. Such dual recognition, publisher Jack Meyers noted, was "not likely to be repeated." It hasn't been.

Auto racing champion Jackie Stewart earned the honor in 1973, Muhammad Ali in 1974, and Rose last year.

Through the years, a number of women might have been in contention if chauvinistic barriers had not stood in their way. Among the names which must readily come to mind are Wilma Rudolph, Mickey Wright, and Althea Gibson.

Rudolph was the long-striding sprinter who became the first American woman to win three Olympic track and field gold medals at Rome in 1960. Wright, who is credited with ushering in a new era in women's golf, led the LPGA tour five consecutive years. Gibson, the first black to achieve prominence on the tennis court, swept the Wimbledon and U.S. Open titles in 1957.

With more and more women seriously competing in athletics, and greater press recognition extended to those who do, 1976 saw a strong contingent of females glitter on the international sports scene.

Rosalind Wiseman of West Germany came within 11 seconds of becoming the first woman ever to win all three Olympic Alpine skiing events.

Sheila Young, a world-class cyclist and speed skater, became the first American to win three medals at the winter Olympics, copwin a gold in the 500 meters, a silver in the 1,000, and a bronze in the 1,000. She also upset the defending champion by winning her second world sprint (cycling) title.

Dorothy Hamill emerged as the queen of figure skating, winning the Olympic gold medal and then signing a \$2 million contract with Ice Capades.

Judy Rankin pocketed more than \$100,000 on the women's golf tour, thus becoming the first player to break that milestone.

Nadia Comaneci — well, does anyone with a TV set not know who she is? Not only did she score the first 10 in Olympic history, she added five more perfect marks before the gymnastics competition concluded at the Montreal Games.

Australia: more there than kangaroos and koalas

By Leavitt F. Morris
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia
Australia, the land of kangaroos and lovable-looking, teddy-bear-like koalas, is increasingly becoming a popular travel destination for those who want to leave the Northern Hemisphere winter. That's especially so for people on cruise vacations: Each year, it seems, more cruise ships are sailing to South Pacific ports, with Sydney as a destination.

Latest ship to announce stops in Australia is Russia's M/S Mikhail Lermontov, which is offering two sailings soon, one from Panama in January, 1977, and one from the U.S. West Coast in spring. (Passengers wishing to take the first cruise must make their own arrangements to fly to Panama.)

The 14- to 37-day cruises (duration of journey depends upon port of embarkation) will call at such exotic places as Acapulco, Tahiti, Rarotonga, and Auckland en route to Sydney.

The Panama trip leaves on January 15, arriving at Sydney February 5. The second sailing leaves from Vancouver, February 26; Seattle, February 27; San Francisco, March 3; and Los Angeles, March 6, with arrival in Sydney on April 4.

Rates for these Russian-sponsored South Pacific cruises are in the bargain category — minimums are: from Panama \$585; \$1,080 from San Francisco/Los Angeles; or \$1,145 from Vancouver/Seattle.

Cruise passengers arriving at Sydney will find the Circular Quay or Sydney Bay the ideal place to sample the life of this city of three million people. Especially, there will be time to visit Bennelong point, a 5½ acre peninsula



Ayers Rock — you can't miss it

where stands one of the most famous structures of the modern world, the Sydney Opera House.

Considered the country's most outstanding cultural monument, its white mosaic-tiled roofs cover a complex of four performing halls, including a concert hall with a 2,700 seating capacity as well as exhibition, reception, and recording halls.

There are daily guided tours costing A \$1.50 for adults, which take in Sydney's major attractions, including the impressive span of the Sydney Harbor Bridge.

For those with the time and a spirit of adventure I recommend a trip to Alice Springs in the "outback country" and then on to Ayers Rock, the largest monolith in the world. I made this trip a number of years ago and still

remember it as one of the highlights of my world travels.

Australia's outback, with its huge cattle stations of a couple of million acres, makes the King Ranch in Texas, one Aussie told me, look like a pocket handkerchief.

Alice Springs, in the center of this area is a frontier town, reminding me of some of the cattle towns in North Dakota and Montana. It has some modern accommodations and a municipal swimming pool. One of the town's proudest attractions, though, is a war memorial on a height of land with sweeping views of the "hush."

From Alice Springs you can get to Ayers Rock either by small plane or bus; it's a distance of about 250 miles.

When I first spotted Ayers Rock from the air some 20 miles away, it looked like a huge sleeping elephant. But as I approached it, the rock rose continuously in front of the plane to a height of 1,143 feet. In midday it takes on a dull bronze or rust color. At sunrise, it is transformed into a mammoth gold nugget.

Ayers Rock is about a seven-mile trip around the base, and it can be climbed along the slope on the western face. Many tourists do this each year but I prefer to look at its flat surface from the comfortable seat of the little Beechcraft which circles over the top.

Visitors interested in this trip must be prepared to pay a substantial amount for the flight to Alice Springs and Ayers Rock from any of Australia's major cities. However, if you're bent on doing something different and seeing an area visited by relatively few tourists you will probably consider the money well spent.

Travel documents needed to visit Australia are a valid passport and visa, required for nationals of most countries who plan to stay longer than three days. Currency is the Australian dollar (A\$1 = US\$0.95).

Bermuda's 'Confederate' mansion

By Arthur H. Posture Jr.
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

On a tree-shaded, quiet corner of Old St. George's Town, Bermuda's 367-year-old ancestral capital, stands a 1700s mansion where the Stars and Bars flag of the Confederate States of America flutters proudly in the breeze.

This is the old Globe Hotel, today a museum open daily except Sunday; 50 cents admission operated by the Bermuda National Trust. US Civil War buffs will enjoy the many historical exhibits which fill this Bermuda landmark.

Supply agent
A look at U.S. history will explain the presence of the Confederate flag on this sunny Bermuda street.

During 1861-65, Maj. Norman Walker of the Confederate States of America occupied this

house. Major Walker posed as a commercial agent, but in reality he was an important figure in the England-Bermuda Confederate States military supply line, in which Southerners traded their cotton for British arms and munitions. Several million dollars worth of war material was shipped from Bermuda marked "hardware" after Major Walker offered high bonuses to clipper-ship captains willing to risk a Union blockade of Southern ports to get the equipment to Gen. Robert E. Lee's troops.

Major Walker and his wife entertained in high style in Bermuda during the American Civil War, playing host to many Southern sympathizers and spies, and their St. George home became the headquarters of political and espionage activities.

Historical exhibits

Today, the Walker house is like a Civil War history book come to life. Here can be found interesting historical exhibits and documents that tell about the ships that sailed between England, Bermuda, and the South during that era, including square-riggers C.S.S. Florida, Manassas, Alabama, Shenandoah, Georgia, and Tallahassee. Other memorabilia include entries out of the diaries of Major Walker and the ships' bills of lading. There also is an antique hand-press, made in England, which Major Walker used to emboss documents and official papers with the Great Seal of the Confederacy.

Upside in the Walker house is a mahogany four-poster bed, with the Stars and Bars flag still draped over its canopy top. Here Mrs. Walker gave birth to a son in 1862 — a son born under the colors of the Confederacy.

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Soviet skaters hardly get a chance to warm their feet

By Voronin A. Ragatz
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Figure skating is a way of life for the World and Olympic Pairs Champions Irina Rodnina and Alexander Zaitsev.

When not training or competing, the Soviet skaters perform in exhibitions which leave audiences shouting for more.

The couple recently had five guest performances in Ottawa at Skate-Canada, an international invitational competition which drew skaters from 11 countries. Rodnina and Zaitsev spoke with reporters one evening in an unusually relaxed and light-hearted mood.

Irina has won eight World titles and two Olympic gold medals during some 20 years of skating. She started on blades at the age of eight when her mother took her to a local Moscow rink where an instructor looked her over and said, "We'll see what we can do."

Irina was strictly a singles skater until 1968, when she was matched up with Alexei Ulanov, her first partner. Two years later they won the World Pairs title vacated by fellow countrymen Ludmila and Oleg Protopopov.

"They went on to win three more World titles and an Olympic gold medal before Alexei left Irina to skate with another partner, whom he eventually married."

After much deliberation, Zaitsev was chosen to skate with Irina in 1972. They were married in Moscow after the 1976 World Championships

held at the Broadmoor resort in Colorado Springs.

"Together, the couple has won four Worlds and an Olympic gold medal. In spite of such an impressive record, they have no immediate plans to retire. 'We'll skate until we're exhausted,' Irina said with a laugh.

Sasha, as her husband is called, began skating at the age of seven in Leningrad. Now 25, he has skated singles and pairs, and has doubled in ice hockey "for fun."

The couple skates about six hours a day in summer, working on new moves and programs, and four hours a day in the winter. They choose their music and do choreography together with their accomplished coach, Tatiana Tarasova.

Off the ice, Irina and Sasha enjoy reading, listening to music, going to the theater, and visiting friends.

When they travel, Irina likes to go shopping, but says she has trouble finding clothes because she is so small (4 ft. 11 in. and 103 lbs.). During our interview, however, she was attractively dressed in dark brown velvet pants and an orange-colored fur jacket.

Sasha enjoys movies and says his favorite movie star is Sean Connery, who is famous for his James Bond roles.

Rodnina and Zaitsev have both graduated from a physical culture institute in Moscow, yet they are continuing their studies on the graduate level, he in the psychology of sport and she in history.

When questioned as to what kind of history, she said, "history of skating, of course."

Asked if they ever get bored skating, Irina, who did most of the talking during the conversation emphatically said no. Her career has been long, but "quite varied." She has skated singles and pairs, had two partners and two different coaches. "There is always something new," she explained. "I enjoy it very much."

One thing Irina would like to do is gain more "self-control." Despite years of competition, she says she still feels nervous before skating.

Rodnina and Zaitsev consider the other Russian pairs and the East Germans to be their strongest competitive challengers, although they also rank the U.S. Pairs Champions Tatiana and Randy Gardner as "very good."

"They expect the letter to place in the top three this year in international competition."

Although many feel Rodnina and Zaitsev's recent competition programs have been lackluster, their exhibition programs seem to be well-received. The couple enjoys skating before audiences at exhibitions and presents near-flawless performances.

Their movements are crisp and precise. No matter how difficult or daring, they are performed with assurance and style.

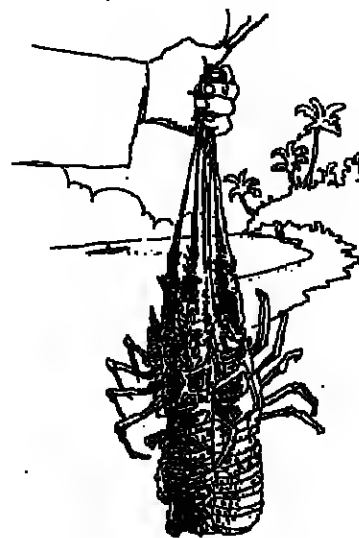
For exhibitions Irina and her husband usually skate to Russian folk music such as "Rueda La Lova You" and "Kalinka."

What would Irina and Sasha like to do when they eventually stop competing? That remains to be seen, but whatever it is will definitely relate to skating.

travel

Southern lobster: a St. Martin delicacy

By Peter Tongo
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



Lobsters hot from the pot

Phillipsburg, St. Martin
Around seven each morning early risers here stroll along the town's mile-long stretch of golden sand toward Phillipsburg Pier. That's when the little fishing boats return with the night's harvest.

On this island the catch is principally red snapper, kingfish, jack, albacore, and sometimes lobster. Treps end line are used to take the fish for the ragged, reef-strewn sea bed makes trawling an impossibility.

Across the shimmering waters where neighboring St. John rises up out of the sea like a giant jade ornament, other small vessels put in to the often surf-rough Fort Bay with their catch of moon and butterflyfish, oldwives, silks, angel, doctor fish, and grouper.

And at the third in this chain of sister islands — St. Eustatius or St. Eustice as it is often called — the principal catch is the much-prized lobster. This harvest of the sea is brought in by skin divers.

All the islands yield lobster but the waters around history-rich St. John do so more abundantly than most.

Until the tourist boom hit the area, St. Martin particularly, fishermen here frequently considered lobsters a nuisance in their traps and would toss many overboard. After all, a man can eat only so much lobster, they would say.

Now it's different. Every lobster has a ready market.

The West Indian lobster, like that found off Florida and the east coasts of Australia and South Africa, is a warm water species similar to the New England lobster but lacking the mighty claws of its Yankee cousin.

Some say the New England lobster is marginally sweeter (I would need them side by side on a plate to tell the difference), but all agree the tropical relative is a delicacy too.

I have eaten lobster on several occasions on this visit to St. Martin (the price is too good to resist, and the best tasting of them all was a plain boiled specimen eaten with butter sauce at Le Grenouille (The Frog), a French restaurant on Front Street, or Voorstreet as the Dutch signs say. It weighed one pound. The cost: \$9.

Le Grenouille is one of several restaurants the St. Martin tourist bureau recommends to vacationers. The others are Mullat Bay Beach Hotel Restaurant, The Frigate, at Mullat Bay, Concord Hotel Restaurant, Restaurant Caravansara, Little Bay Restaurant, Grant Bay Hotel, L'Escargot, The Mini Club, The West Indian Tavern, Bilboquet Restaurant, Mary's Boon Restaurant, Hotel Seaview Restaurant, The Boucanier, La Calanque, The Mandarin, St. Maarten Restaurant, and St. Tropez Hotel.

arts/books

Truffaut: Filmmaker to the world

By David Sterritt

New York

I asked the hotel switchboard operator for Mr. Truffaut's suite. "Truffaut?" she asked. I said that was close enough. "Francis?" she continued. "That's the one. I told her."

Francis Truffaut hasn't yet become a household word in the grand style, like his hero, Alfred Hitchcock. But he has been traveling in that direction for a couple of decades, turning out some of the world's best-loved films from "Shoot the Piano Player" to "Day for Night," from "Jules and Jim" to this year's "Small Change."

And now he's about to become a movie star, in the country that invented movie stars! His latest project is a major role in "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," a science-fiction epic from Hollywood's Steven ("Jaws") Spielberg. It marks Truffaut's first performance, in America or anywhere else, in a film by another filmmaker.

'Totally trusting'

Columbia Pictures has lowered an unusual veil of secrecy over the \$16 million "Close Encounters," so I ask Truffaut if there is anything he can reveal about his part in it. "I play a French scientist who is interested in flying saucers," comes the answer. "That's not just all I can tell you, it's all I know!"

It turns out that Truffaut took the attitude of "totally trusting" his American director. He read the script only once, many weeks before shooting began; never asked Spielberg about major changes made later; never even watched the daily footage, because he didn't want to be frustrated by his lack of control over the film. "So I'll be the first one to be surprised when I see the picture," he smiles.

Truffaut points out that "Close Encounters" is costing 10 times the amount of his own sci-fi effort, "Fahrenheit 451." But he has no ambitions to make a big-budget picture himself. "I think I am not a showman," he muses. "I'm interested in characters. I came to understand a great deal about myself while working on the Spielberg picture."

"If I was filming us now," he says, with a sweeping gesture that includes him, his interviewer, and his translator, "I would put us against the wall and show what we were saying to each other. But Spielberg would put



Between scenes of his film 'Small Change,' Truffaut watches one of Deluca brothers test a camera rangefinder

the actors against a window, and behind the window he'd have helicopters flying around. "The important thing is that he does it admirably well. When you make a picture for \$16 million, the important thing is that you see this amount of money reflected on the screen."

'I picked easy things'

Truffaut feels that many of today's under-30 directors are better at this sort of thing than their predecessors a decade or so ago.

As for himself, "Even as an actor, when I created my own pictures, I picked very easy things that I could do. I said that I could only play myself. Whereas Spielberg forced me to do things I didn't think I could."

In his latest picture, the child-poem "Small Change," Truffaut coaxed heady performances from a cast consisting largely of children. The movie centers on the idea that children live in a sort of "state of grace," and that a difficult childhood can pay off by making a person sturdier in later life. Truffaut's own childhood was very rocky, as his highly personal first film — "The 400 Blows" — demonstrates.

Adventure with a child

"All the episodes in 'Small Change' illustrate the idea that children are very resilient," the director says. "Sentimentally, one is tremen-

dously moved by the troubles of children; but in reality children are better equipped than adults to undergo these ordeals."

As Truffaut sees it, a child on-screen becomes the representation of all children. Thus, when dealing with children, "you don't need a very complicated script. Often the behavior of an adult on-screen can be boring — he goes into a shop, makes a phone call, buys something. You say, this is a documentary, a real bore. But if a child does the same thing, every action becomes an adventure: one feels this might be the first time he's done these things. . . . Also, one compares things with one's own childhood, so every particular action acquires a symbolic meaning."

"It's a strange phenomenon. One might say that with a child nothing is documentary — everything is vibrant. . . . Even when one is shooting a film, one is constantly surprised when working with children. When you shoot with a child, you are witnessing his discovery of cinema."

Truffaut likes the idea of children's "resilience" because of his continuing concern with the theme of survival — the theme that he sees at the root of all his work, as well as in much superior cinema from Charlie Chaplin shorts to the antiwar "Johnny Got His Gun," which he admires immensely.

Yet Truffaut has always handled the subject of survival with a delicate and often gentle touch. "This is probably because of the strength of cinema," he says. "I am afraid of abusive cinema. Cinema can create a very strong emotion simply by showing a person slap someone. I feel very strong emotions in a Hitchcock film where someone merely says something cruel."

"That's why I get angry when I see a picture where a person kicks someone in the stomach. People who film things that are too violent are people who don't know how to film. . . . whereas a Hitchcock works with very few elements, he really feels things. It's the same in conversation. When people are very violent in defending a thesis, this violence is aimed at convincing themselves. Someone who is genuinely convinced speaks softly."

As 2000 nears

Truffaut speaks with his usual softness as he explains his theory that today's violent cinema is a reflection of today's society, which is becoming increasingly unacted as the year 2000 approaches. Too many people see the year 2000 as an end, says the filmmaker, rather than a beginning.

This makes Truffaut feel a special responsibility as an artist. "The more people around us show irresponsible behavior, the more responsible I have to be. . . . I must reproach many artists for pretending they don't care about life, when in fact they care about it enormously. . . . They pretend because of cynicism, and a certain mental confusion. They feel that if they admitted their love of life, it would imply an acceptance of the society in which they live. . . ."

"I don't mean to cheat or to pretend that life is more beautiful than it is. . . . But in this great arena of contestation that one has today, there can be a difference between cynicism directed against society and one's feeling toward life. . . . We must look beyond the end of the century, we must work toward the years 2003 or 2004. . . . I would never indicate on screen that I shared the suicidal attitude of many people today. It's a question of responsibility. . . . and I love life. . . ."

Mack Smith, rightly, emphasizes the role played by Mussolini in formulating and directing Fascist foreign policy. He powerfully depicts the tragedy of a man, prisoner of his dreams, plagued by complexes of inferiority, who finally believed in his own propaganda. Mussolini sank in the mid-1930s a bloodthirsty Italy, a sick nation that would rather live "one day as a lion than a hundred days as a sheep." In reality the Italian population was at best indifferent to the Duce's wild conquests, fantasies and imperial dreams.

This work is a welcome contribution to the history of Mussolini's foreign policy. What remains to be written, however, is an account of the social forces behind Fascist foreign policy, an analysis that would provide us with a better understanding of the military-industrial complex that pushed behind the scene for Fascist imperialism.

William Gaillard is a freelance reviewer engaged in political research in Rome.

Mussolini and Fascism: destroying the myths

Mussolini's Roman Empire, by Denis Mack Smith. New York: The Viking Press. 322 pp. \$11.95. London: Longman, £7.50.

By William Gaillard. British historian Denis Mack Smith not only gives us the best account to date in the English language of Mussolini's imperial projects, but makes an important contribution to the destruction of major myths surrounding Italian Fascism.

The first myth Mack Smith attacks is the legend of the accidental character of Italian involvement in World War II. Many former supporters of Fascism, in Italy and abroad, have often contended that if it had not been for the Duce's mistake of entering the war as a junior partner of Hitler, the Fascist regime itself would be regarded today as a firm and efficient system of government.

Mack Smith clearly analyzes the close relationship between Fascist foreign and domestic policies. War and imperialism were the raison d'  tre of Italian Fascism and Mussolini's foreign policy was closely intertwined with his domestic programs. "As soon as his domestic authority was unchallenged," Mack Smith points out, "he turned more and more to foreign affairs, partly as a means of extending his power still further, partly as a means of diverting the attention of the Italian people from the domestic programs like the 'Battle of the Wheat.' War was the ultimate purpose of Fascism."

The second myth successfully challenged by Mack Smith is the legend of Fascist efficiency. The famous claim that "the trains run on time" appears dastardly in the face of Fascist economic bankruptcy. The author strikes a mortal blow to the myths of economic and social order under the Duce's regime and to the virtues of autarkic policies. In its privileged field of national defense, Fascism showed the full extent of its administrative incapacity. As a result, of tragic insufficiencies and waste, fewer airplanes were produced in World War II by Italian industry than during World War I. Only 16 percent of Italy's air force was technically fit to fly. Italy's much publicized armored divisions existed only on paper and the few existing Italian tanks could be easily penetrated by small-arms fire.

Finally, Mack Smith challenges the generally accepted myth that Fascist imperialism was relatively mild. The British scholar presents a detailed and vivid account of Fascist atrocities committed in Libya and Ethiopia. Mussolini himself stated that he would rather have Italy hated than loved.

The Duce's megalomania was well reflected in his plans for world domination; the transformation of the Mediterranean into an Italian lake; the annexation of the British and French empires in Africa, and the conquest of Afghanistan and India.

"The main weakness," Mack Smith concludes, "was obviously at the top, with Musso-

lini himself, whose preference for deceit and mediocrity was aggravated beyond repair by fundamental mistakes of policy. From 1935 onward he moved increasingly towards a situation where he was provoking the enmity of two of the most powerful nations in the world, and yet, though foreign policy was altered in the direction of war, surprisingly little change was made in military potential to meet the deliberately provoked challenge."

Mack Smith rightly emphasizes the role played by Mussolini in formulating and directing Fascist foreign policy. He powerfully depicts the tragedy of a man, prisoner of his dreams, plagued by complexes of inferiority, who finally believed in his own propaganda. Mussolini sank in the mid-1930s a bloodthirsty Italy, a sick nation that would rather live "one day as a lion than a hundred days as a sheep." In reality the Italian population was at best indifferent to the Duce's wild conquests, fantasies and imperial dreams.

This work is a welcome contribution to the history of Mussolini's foreign policy. What remains to be written, however, is an account of the social forces behind Fascist foreign policy, an analysis that would provide us with a better understanding of the military-industrial complex that pushed behind the scene for Fascist imperialism.

William Gaillard is a freelance reviewer engaged in political research in Rome.

Does A to Z seating affect how pupils learn?

By Richard Aronson

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Claremont, California
You may never have heard of Ziegler's Law, important as it is to education and the teacher-student relationship.

Harvey Ziegler was a classmate of mine from first grade all through school. Then we went our separate ways, and I didn't see Harvey again until we met at a class reunion. I think it was our 40th. I was dean of the faculty of a college then and had written some popular books as well as the unread "publish-or-perish" tomes with which I started. The fact that I can't remember what Harvey had been doing all those years is proof of the reality of Ziegler's Law. In fact that is what brought up the subject.

"You have accomplished a lot more than I," Harvey said. "And," he added, "I know why. It's a case of Ziegler's Law."

Trying hard to be modest, I denied ever having accomplished much. "Harvey, you've done as much as I have or more," I said. "You're trying to make me feel good."

"No, I'm not," Harvey said. "You got a better education than I did, and all on account of Ziegler's Law."

Ziegler's Law defined

"All right, I'll tell you," Harvey said. "Ziegler's Law is that education depends on how you are to the teacher in a classroom. . . . of our teachers seated us alphabetically, they could remember and notice absences better. Since my name began with 'Z,' I always sat in the back row, while you, with a name beginning with 'A,' sat in the front row. I could sit out the window or whisper or pass notes, but you had to sit up straight and pay attention. No wonder you learned more than I."

So that's Ziegler's Law," I said. As I thought back to the students in my school

and college classes, I could see the law emerging. Charlotte Adams was a better student than Betty Young, Henry Briggs was a better student than Jim Williams, and so on.

"What do you think?" Harvey asked. "Maybe there's something to it," I said. "Anyhow, it isn't everyone who has a law named after him. With your Ziegler's Law, you've accomplished something I haven't."

I could see Harvey was pleased. . . .

Rectangular seating patterns

I wish I had known about Ziegler's Law before. During the 40 years I taught in colleges and universities, the students in my classes, even in small seminars, sat in parallel rows. There was a rectangular pattern to the seating in the classroom. But as my memory for names always has been, I did not require alphabetical seating. I knew the students didn't like it. Harvey Ziegler would have sat in the back row only if he chose to.

But the essential part of Ziegler's Law, that "education depends on how close you are to the teacher in a classroom," has a broader application than to the alphabetical seating that Harvey felt had been a handicap to him.

What I have in mind is that, whether or not the seating is alphabetical, there are ways of bringing the teacher and students closer together. Or if not closer, at least breaking up the formality and rigidity of the classroom. Some teachers, whether in elementary schools, junior high schools, colleges, or graduate schools, already do this. I was too stupid to learn until too late.

Try semicircles

If I could start over, I would have the chairs in my classroom placed not in straight rows but in semicircles, and moved a little closer to one another and up as close to the teacher as possible. As I have said, I know some teachers already do this, and I commend them. But I have recently been into many classrooms, from first grade on up, where there are the same stiff rows I sat in as a student and stood in front of as a teacher. Unless the chairs are



fastened down, I suggest moving them, with Ziegler's Law in mind, into a semicircle or some other and perhaps more imaginative pattern.

I think there is a more informal, intimate feeling in a classroom in which the students are close to one another and grouped around the teacher. There will still be a front row and a back row, but those in the back row will feel more a part of the group than if they clust the

nit-fashion back row to avoid notice or because they were seated alphabetically and their name was Williams, Young — or Ziegler.

Maybe Harvey Ziegler failed to get the maximum out of education because he sat so far away from his teachers. But at least he thought of Ziegler's Law, which, if applied inventively, might bring more equality as well as fellowship into the classroom.

Ziegler is the name. Give it a thought.

Community education — how it works

By Stephen Silva

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Santiago de Chuata, Bolivia

"Through community education, our people are working to improve their homes and methods of agriculture," said a touse-haired leader from a small village on the shore of Bolivia's Lake Titicaca. "We're no longer slaves because now we can read and write."

He was addressing the 80 delegates to the first inter-American workshop on community education, held in August for educators from the United States and seven Latin American countries. Their purpose: to see firsthand what community education was doing to spur self-development in one of Latin America's most underdeveloped countries.

The basic elements of community education here are the same as in Finland, Michigan, where community education was developed in the U.S. and has spread nationwide to over 5,200 schools, according to a count made annually by the C.S. Mott Foundation.

The schools on the Bolivian altiplano — many of them built in recent years by the Aymara Indians who live there, with financial help from the Utah-Bolivia Partners of the Americas — are all-age learning and resource centers. While children learn to read, adolescents learn carpentry, women take classes in home economics and nutrition, and men are busy digging wells, building latrines, and learning techniques to grow better crops.

Only recently have the schools been used all day by everyone. In the first workshop session, held in La Paz, Bolivian President R  nco Barz  n St  rzen said, "The anxiety and search for knowledge in our country is greater than ever. The importance of community education is growing. . . . Seventy percent of the people now start to find out who they are, to become full-class citizens."

He refers to the rural Indian population, where dedication to community is of primary importance. Many of them cannot speak the nation's official language, Spanish.

Today, Oscar Orozco, head of rural education for Bolivia, directs a Bolivian Community Education Center, for training and development of leaders in collaboration with the Center for Community Education at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

"The schools have become meeting places for community councils — school advisory groups which in some communities have merged with the tribal councils. They survey the community to identify problems and see what resources are available to solve the problems."

Their needs? More often than not, more schools. In education, these Indians see release for their people from the bondage of slavery that has been their lifestyle for over 200 years.

Col. Waldo Bernal Pereira, Bolivia's Minister of Education, is pleased with the way "each community is raising its own standard of living through this project." He says it is a way to "break the structured ruralism that has been holding us back," while "saving the basic principles of our country."

During the second week of the workshop, delegates from 14 U.S. states, twinned with Latin American delegates by the National Association of Partners of the Americas, in Washington-based volunteer technical assistance agency, traveled to Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela, where they explored the potential of community education in those countries.

"One thing we learned to see that many countries in Latin America are ahead of us in using the community fully for projects, and involving them in educational decisions," said Dr. H. Larry Winecoff, associate director of the Center for Community Education at the University of South Carolina.

Detroit Symphony courts schools

By Rosamary Twomey

Detroit

For more than half a century, the Detroit Symphony Orchestra and the Detroit public schools have worked together to provide free concerts, broadcasts, program guides, performance outfits, and scholarships to area students.

This year more than 70,000 students will receive 30 free in-school concerts and will be bused to 16 free concerts in Ford Auditorium. These performances will be played back on released school time via delayed broadcasts for those students unable to attend the concerts.

Under the direction of Dr. Paul Freeman, conductor-in-residence of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, a nationally unique pilot project started in 30 schools is being expanded to 457 schools this year. The program involves the placement of teachers' manuals in the schools to demonstrate to students, black students particularly, that black musicians have been and should continue to arrive to be in the mainstream of classical music.

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French/German

Les membres de la Société Audubon recommandent une vigilance écologique soutenue

par George Moneyham
Correspondant du
Christian Science Monitor

New York — Bien avant que le mouvement écologique des États-Unis ne prenne son essor, la Société nationale Audubon défendait enclément les animaux sauvages de l'Amérique du Nord contre les abus de la civilisation.

Et maintenant que le mouvement de conservation semble généralement avoir perdu beaucoup de son élan ascendant, les leaders de la Société nationale Audubon recommandent à leurs 350 000 membres des États-Unis de ne pas relâcher leur surveillance.

M. Elvis J. Stahr, président du groupe d'écologistes américains le plus ancien et le plus important, appelle le progrès obtenu pour contraindre la destruction des animaux sauvages et des régions naturelles des États-Unis par les hommes et les machines depuis 1960 — et l'admission générale du public qu'il était nécessaire de faire de nouveaux efforts pour conserver les ressources naturelles — ont pris naissance dans les

de savoir qu'ils ont aidé à préserver leur héritage naturel.

M. Stahr admet que l'économie stagnante des États-Unis et quelque chose comme un « contre-coup » incité par les campagnes industrielles ont ralenti le taux de croissance du mouvement écologique. Toutefois, lors d'une récente interview, l'ancien président de l'Université de l'Indiana a souligné que les sondages d'opinion publique indiquent que la plupart des Américains sont encore concernés à propos du besoin de protéger l'environnement et en particulier les espèces d'animaux et d'oiseaux menacées d'extinction.

M. Stahr a noté qu'à présent la Société nationale Audubon a des filiales dans 375 villes des États-Unis, comparativement à moins de 100 il y a dix ans et que le nombre de ses membres a plus que sextuplé.

Lo campagne menée à grands renforts de publicité tapageuse depuis 1960 — et l'admission générale du public qu'il était nécessaire de faire de nouveaux efforts pour conserver les ressources naturelles — ont pris naissance dans les

luttés peu huyantes de la Société Audubon sur la côte est et le Sierra club dans l'ouest aux alentours du début du siècle.

Avec plusieurs victoires significatives à leur actif au cours de ces dernières années, les volontaires d'Audubon affirment que le besoin d'avoir une société consacrée à la conservation de l'énergie et des autres ressources naturelles est même plus grand aujourd'hui.

Sur les quelque 700 espèces d'oiseaux d'Amérique du Nord, 22 restent sur la liste des espèces menacées d'extinction. Il y a 20 espèces de mammifères menacées d'extinction sur la liste, et la plupart des efforts de la Société Audubon a pour but leur préservation.

La Société Audubon est le seul groupe de conservation qui entretienne une série « d'îlots de vie » servant de sanctuaires pour les animaux sauvages à travers les États-Unis. Depuis 1970 un million de dollars par an a été dépensé pour faire fonctionner, entretenir et protéger les « sanctuaires », dit M. Stahr, 21 refuges ont été soit ajoutés, soit agrandis pendant cette période.

Les volontaires d'Audubon sont aussi

très engagés dans des efforts pour sauver la grue et l'aigle d'Amérique ainsi que l'énorme condor de Californie. Des efforts faits dans le passé ont aidé à préserver des chasseurs tels que l'aigrette et les hérons.

La Société Audubon est aussi en première ligne dans la lutte contre la pollution pour faire cesser l'empoisonnement des coyotes et d'autres animaux sur les terres publiques, et concentre ses efforts de préservation sur le loup et l'olligator en danger.

« La plupart des gens de l'Est n'en sont pas conscients », dit M. Stahr, mais une grande quantité de nos terres de l'Ouest sont surexploitées. » Notant qu'un tiers de la terre dans les États-Unis — surtout dans l'Ouest — appartient au gouvernement des U.S.A., les membres des sociétés de conservation se plaignent du fait que les politiciens locaux permettent trop souvent que les pâturages soient loués à bas prix à des producteurs de laine, tandis que les mineurs de surface ravagent de grandes étendues de terres non cultivées avec peu ou pas de souci pour l'environnement.

Ornithologues drängen auf beständige ökologische Wachsamkeit

Von George Moneyham
Korrespondent des
Christian Science Monitors

New York — Lange bevor die ökologische Bewegung in den USA richtig in Gang kam, arbeitete die National Audubon Society im stillen daran, das Tierreich Nordamerikas vor der übergreifenden Zivilisation zu schützen.

Und jetzt, wo die Bewegung des Umweltschutzes anscheinend im allgemeinen viel von ihrer Schwungkraft verloren hat, drängt die Führung der Audubon-Gesellschaft ihre 350 000 Mitglieder überall in den Vereinigten Staaten, weiterhin wachsam zu sein.

Dr. Elvis J. Stahr, Vorsitzender des größten und ältesten Umweltschutzverbandes Amerikas, bezeichnet den Fortschritt, der seit der Verschmutzung der Santa-Barbara-Küste durch Öl im Jahr 1969 erzielt wurde, indem der Zerstörung das amerikanische Tierreich und der Naturgebiete durch Menschen und Maschinen Einhalt geboten wurde, « eine Revolution im Interesse des Umweltschutzes ». Tausende von Freiwilligen nahmen daran teil, und ihre einzige Belohnung liegt in dem Be-

wußtsein, daß sie dazu beigetragen haben, das ihnen anvertraute Erbe zu bewahren.

Dr. Stahr erklärt, daß die Flauta in der amerikanischen Wirtschaft und ein leichter « Umsehung », der durch Kampagnen seitens der Industrie bewirkt wurde, sich auf das Wachstum der ökologischen Bewegung nachteilig ausgewirkt haben. In einem kürzlich erfolgten Interview betonte jedoch der ehemalige Präsident der Universität von Indiana, daß es, wie öffentliche Meinungsumfragen ergaben, den meisten Amerikanern noch immer sehr daran gelegen sei, die Umwelt, vor allem aber gefährdete Vögel und andere Tierarten, zu schützen.

Dr. Stahr wies darauf hin, daß die Audubon-Gesellschaft heute in 375 amerikanischen Städten Zweige hat, während sie vor zehn Jahren weniger als 100 hatte, und die Zahl der Mitglieder ist inzwischen um das Sechsfache gestiegen.

Die 1969 eingeleitete Kampagne, die Schlagzeilen macht — sowie das allgemeine öffentliche Bewußtsein, daß neue Bemühungen erforderlich sind, um die Naturschätze zu erhalten —, hat ihre

Wurzeln in den stillen Kämpfen der Audubon-Gesellschaft an der Ostküste und des Sierra-Klubs im Westen um die Jahrhundertwende.

Nach verschiedenen bedeutenden Siegen in neuerer Zeit wiesen die Audubon-Freiwilligen nachdrücklich darauf hin, daß das Bedürfnis nach einer Gesellschaft, die es sich zum Ziel setzt, Energie und andere Naturschätze zu erhalten, heute größer ist als je.

Von den etwa 710 Vogelarten in Nordamerika sind noch immer 22 vom Aussterben bedroht, und 20 Arten von Säugetieren sind gefährdet. Die Bemühungen der Audubon-Gesellschaft bestehen zum großen Teil darin, sie zu retten.

Die Audubon-Gesellschaft hat der einzige Umweltschutzverband, der eine Reihe von « Inseln des Lebens » (Naturschutzgebiete) in verschiedenen Teilen der USA unterhält. Seit 1970, sagt Dr. Stahr, wurde eine Million Dollar im Jahr darauf verwendet, die Naturschutzgebiete zu unterhalten und zu schützen. Seit der Zeit sind 21 solcher Naturschutzgebiete neu hinzugekommen oder erweitert worden.

Freiwillige der Audubon-Gesellschaft

bemühen sich auch sehr darum, den nordamerikanischen Kranich, den Weißköpfigen Seeadler und den Kalifornischen Kondor zu retten. Frühere Anstrengungen haben dazu beigetragen, Vögel mit Federbüschen wie den Silberreiter und den Reiher zu erhalten. Die Audubon-Gesellschaft unterstützt auch aktiv Projekte, die das Vergiften von Prärievögeln und anderen Lebewesen auf staatseigenem Land unterbinden wollen, und konzentriert nun ihre Bemühungen darauf, den gefährdeten Wolf und den Alligator zu schützen.

« Viele Menschen im Osten sind sich nicht bewußt, daß ein großer Teil unseres westlichen Landes ausgebeutet wird », sagt Dr. Stahr. Er weist darauf hin, daß ein Drittel des Landes in den USA — das meiste liegt im Westen — dem amerikanischen Staat gehört, und er beklagt die Tatsache, daß die lokalen Politiker es zu oft erlauben, daß das Land als Weide zu niedrigen Preisen, während Farmer und Bergarbeiter im Tagebau große Strecken offenen Landes mit wenig oder überhaupt keiner Rücksicht auf die Umwelt verwüsten.

Audubonists urge steady ecology vigil

By George Moneyham
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York — Long before the U.S. ecology movement took wings, the National Audubon Society was quietly defending North America's wildlife from encroaching civilization.

And now that the conservation movement generally appears to have lost much of its upward momentum, the Audubon Society's national leaders are urging their 350,000 members across the United States not to let their guard down.

Dr. Elvis J. Stahr, president of America's biggest and oldest environmental group, calls the progress made in lowering the destruction of U.S. wildlife and natural areas by man and machines since the Santa Barbara oil spill in 1969 « an environmental revolution » — waged by thousands of citizen volunteers whose only

reward has been the knowledge that they helped preserve their natural heritage.

Dr. Stahr concedes that the stagnant U.S. economy and something of a « backlash » prompted by industry campaigns have slowed the growth rate of the ecology movement. However, in a recent interview, the former president of Indiana University stressed that public opinion polls indicate most Americans are still concerned about the need to protect the environment and particularly endangered species of animals and birds.

Dr. Stahr noted that today National Audubon has chapters in 375 U.S. communities, compared with fewer than 100 ten years ago, and its membership is more than six times what it was then.

The headline-grabbing campaign since 1969 — and the general public acknowledgment of the need for new efforts to conserve natural resources — had their roots in the low-keyed bat-

les of the Audubon Society on the East Coast and the Sierra Club in the West around the turn of the century.

With several significant victories under their belts in recent years, Audubon volunteers insist that the need for a society dedicated to conserving energy and other natural resources is even greater today.

Of the some 710 species of birds in North America, 22 remain on the endangered list. There are 20 species of endangered mammals on the list, and much of the Audubon Society's efforts are aimed at preserving them.

The Audubon Society is the only conservation group that maintains a series of « islands of life » sanctuaries for wildlife across the U.S. Since 1970, says Dr. Stahr, \$1 million a year has gone to operate, maintain, and protect the sanctuaries; 21 of the refuges have been added or expanded during that period.

Audubon volunteers are also heavily involved in efforts to save the whooping crane, the bald eagle, and the huge California condor. Such efforts helped preserve plumed birds such as egrets and herons.

The Audubon Society is also in the forefront of projects to stop the poisoning of coyotes and other creatures on public lands, and in focusing preservation efforts on the endangered wolf and alligator.

« Most people in the East are not aware of it », says Dr. Stahr, « but a great deal of our Western land is being overexploited. » Noting that one-third of the land in the U.S. — most in the West — is owned by the U.S. Government, the conservationist complains that local politicians too often allow grazing land to be leased to wool growers at a cheap price, while farmers and stripminers ravage great stretches of open land with little or no concern for the environment.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux parusant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum

(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

La saison de paix et de joie

Quelle est la signification de Noël dans un monde qui semble troublé par la dissonance ? Sûrement, il représente plus qu'une période de l'année pendant laquelle les différends sont écartés et l'espérance des bénédictions de paix et de joie promises peuvent effectivement devenir des réalités auxquelles tous peuvent prendre part est renouvelée. Vuc comme un événement inscrit au calendrier, cette période prend fin. Alors, pour certains, la pause peut de nouveau être distraite par les différends apparents qui divisent peuples et nations.

La base de l'harmonie permanente peut être acquise quand nous sommes capables de discerner que la vraie période de concorde spirituelle n'est pas confinée à certains jours de l'année en particulier. C'est plutôt une communication sans fin de la part d'un Père aimant à Ses enfants — un esprit qui doit ont peut joindre et que l'on peut partager chaque jour, pas seulement une période indéfinie dans l'avenir. Le prophète Esaïe vit les présences possibles du message que le Christ, l'Idée immortelle de Dieu, communiqua à l'humanité. Il dit : « Qu'ils sont beaux sur les montagnes, les pieds de celui qui apporte de bonnes nouvelles, qui publie la paix ! De celui qui apporte de bonnes nouvelles, qui publie la salut ! De celui qui dit : « Mon Dieu règne ! » Son cantique de gloire continue : « Etalez ensemble en es de joie, ruines de Jérusalem ! Car l'Éternel console son peuple, il rachète Jérusalem. »

Christ Jésus exemplifia les paroles d'Esaïe. Sa mission en qualité de Messie était l'humanité afin de la libérer de la peine, de la souffrance et du péché. Il vint comment maîtriser toute croyance en la séparation du bien grâce à la communion de l'unité éternelle de l'homme et de Dieu, l'Esprit divin. Notre Maître vit la discordance sans égards aux barrières artificielles du temps ou de la nationalité. Tout en instruisant ses disciples, il répandit la vérité réconfortante de la

bonité et du pouvoir de Dieu, il affirma que la prophétie d'Esaïe serait accomplie dans tous les âges.

La Science Chrétienne* confirme aujourd'hui la nature éternelle des bénédictions divines de l'harmonie universelle. En accord avec la Bible, cette Science montre que la paix et la joie constituent l'héritage de l'homme parfait créé par Dieu. Ces bénédictions sont accordées par le seul Père-Mère, qui est non seulement aimant, mais le Principe divin, l'Amour même ; une telle paix et une telle joie peuvent être ressenties dans la mesure où notre véritable moi spirituel en tant que reflet de Dieu est reconnu. Parce que l'amour de l'Amour est établi sur le Principe, il répand les joyeuses nouvelles de guérison et de salut à tous les peuples de manière égale.

Ouvrons-nous nos cœurs afin d'accepter ce message de paix ? Dana l'affirmative, le Christ, le Sauveur incorporel, nous démontre que la discordance n'a pas de Principe, pas de fondement dans la réalité. C'est une illusion des sens matériels,

n'ayant aucun droit à un statut permanent. Cette vérité qui découvre et corrige les erreurs des sens est toujours disponible pour répondre aux besoins de l'humanité. Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « L'avènement de Jésus de Nazareth marqua le premier siècle de l'ère chrétienne, mais le Christ est sans commencement d'années ni fin de jours. »

Il y a certainement lieu de se réjouir en apprenant que le déroulement du bien n'est pas contenu dans les limites du temps. Cependant, la gratitude pour l'abandon des richesses de Dieu est beaucoup plus que la satisfaction de se sentir à l'aise dans la matérialité. Il importe, au premier chef, qu'elle exprime la prise de conscience que l'homme, l'Idée de l'Entendement divin, ne peut être séparé de sa source ni touché par aucune des prétentions d'un monde que l'on dit onlogique. La reconnaissance de ce fait de l'être scientifique nous permet de voir le pouvoir de l'Amour divin dans l'existence individuelle. C'est là le seul pouvoir qui

puisse véritablement dissoudre les discordances sociales, politiques et ethniques et révéler le sens éternel de la paix spirituelle que les hommes et les femmes ont recherché à travers l'histoire.

La vision de Michée prévoyait qu'« une nation ne tirera plus l'épée contre une autre, et l'on n'apprendra plus la guerre. » La guérison des nations ne requiert pas de temps, mais une croissance en compréhension spirituelle. Le Principe divin d'un christianisme d'ordre pratique stimule le progrès vers ce but, unissant toutes les périodes dans le plan de gloire et de paix de l'Amour.

*Esaïe 52:7, 9; « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures », p. 333; Michée 4:3.

*Christian Science, prononcer « kraishtien »

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures », de Mary Baker Eddy, existe en huit langues en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Bibles de Locust de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels

(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Die Zeit des Friedens und der Freude

Welche Bedeutung hat Weihnachten in einer Welt, die von Zwietracht geprägt zu sein scheint? Es stellt sicherlich mehr dar als eine Zeit des Jahres, wo Uneinigkeiten beiseite gelegt werden und die Hoffnung erneuert wird, daß die verheißenen Segnungen, Frieden und Freude, tatsächlich für alle zur Wirklichkeit werden können. Wenn wir diese Zeit als ein im Kalender festgelegtes Ereignis betrachten, kommt sie zu einem Ende. Dann wird vielleicht das Denken mancher Menschen durch die offensichtlichen Uneinigkeiten, die zwischen Menschen und Völkern herrschen, wieder abgelenkt werden.

Wir können die Grundlage dauernder Harmonie erreichen, wenn uns klar wird, daß geistige Eintracht eigentlich nicht auf eine besondere Zeit im Jahr beschränkt ist. Sie ist vielmehr eine nie endende Gabe von einem liebevollen Vater an Seine Kinder — ein geistiges Geschenk, an dem wir uns jeden Tag, nicht nur zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt in der Zukunft, freuen und andere teilhaben lassen können. Der Prophet Jesaja verstand die gegenwärtigen Möglichkeiten der Botschaft, die der Christus, Gottes unsterbliches Ideal, der Menschheit übermittelte. Er sagte: « Wie lieblich sind auf den Bergen die Füße der Friedensboten, die die Frieden verkünden, Gutes predigen, Heil verkünden, die da sagen zu Zion: Dein Gott ist König! » In seinem Freudengesang heißt es weiter: « Seid fröhlich und rühmt mich an, ihr Trümmer Jerusalems; denn der Herr hat sein Volk getröstet und Jerusalem erlöst. »

Jesajas Worte wurden von Christus Jesus veranschaulicht. In seiner Mission als der Messias wandte er sich an alle Menschen, um sie von Kummer, Schmerzen und Sünde zu befreien. Er zeigte, wie jede Annahme, daß wir vom Guten getrennt seien, durch das Verständnis der ewigen Einheit des Menschen mit Gott, dem göttlichen Geist, ausgelöscht werden kann. Unser Meister heilte die Harmonie ohne Rücksicht auf die von den Menschen aufgerichteten Schranken von Zeit oder Nationalität. Dadurch, daß er seine Nachfolger anwies, die tröstende Wahrheit von Gottes Güte und Macht zu verbreiten, bestätigte er, daß Jesajas Prophezeiung zu allen Zeiten erfüllt werden würde.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft* bowelt heute, daß die göttlichen Segnungen allumfassender Harmonie ihrem Wesen nach unerschöpflich sind. In Überanstrengung mit der Bibel zeigt diese Wissenschaft des Seins, daß Frieden und Freude das Erbe des Volkkommens, von Gott erschaffenen Menschen sind. Diese Segnungen werden von dem einen Vater-Mutter Gott verliehen, der nicht nur liebevoll, sondern auch das göttliche Prinzip, Liebe, selbst ist; so daß Frieden und solche Freude können wir in dem Maße erleben, wie wir unser wahres, geistiges Selbst als die Widerspiegelung Gottes erkennen. Da die Liebe der Liebe auf Prinzip gegründet ist, strahlt sie die freudige Botschaft von Heilung und Erlösung an alle Menschen gleichermaßen aus.

Lassen wir diese Botschaft des Friedens in unsere Herzen einströmen? Womöglich so ist, zeigt uns Christus, der unkörperliche Erlöser, daß Disharmonie kein Prin-

zip, keine Grundlage in der Wirklichkeit hat. Sie ist eine Illusion der materiellen Sinne, die keinen dauerhaften Status erlangen kann. Diese Wahrheit, die die Irrtümer des Sinnes aufdeckt und berichtigt, stellt jederzeit zur Verfügung, um die Note der Menschheit zu beheben. Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: « Die Ankunft Jesu von Nazareth bezeichnete das erste Jahrhundert der christlichen Zeitrechnung, der Christus aber ist ohne Anfang der Jahre und ohne Ende der Tage. »

Es ist wirklich ein Grund zur Freude, wenn wir lernen, daß die Entfaltung des Guten nicht von den Begrenzungen der Zeit eingeschränkt wird. Dankbarkeit für Gottes überfließenden Reichtum bedeutet jedoch viel mehr als Zufriedenheit mit einem Zustand materiellen Wohlbefindens. Und was am wichtigsten ist, sie sollte die Erkenntnis widerspiegeln, daß der Mensch, die Idee des göttlichen Gemüts, weder von seinem Ursprung getrennt noch von irgendeinem Anspruch einer sogenannten antagonistischen Welt berührt werden kann. Wenn wir diese Tatsache des wissenschaftlichen Seins erkennen, können wir die Macht der göttlichen Liebe im Leben des einzelnen wahrnehmen. Dies ist die einzige Macht, die wirklich soziale, politische und ethnische Unähnlichkeiten zu besotigen und den zeitlosen Begriff geistigen Friedens zu offenbaren vermag, um den sich Männer und Frauen im Laufe der menschlichen Geschichte bemüht haben.

Die Vision des Propheten Michée sagt voraus: « Es wird kein Volk wider den anderen das Schwert erheben, und sie werden künftig nicht mehr lernen, Krieg zu führen. » Die Heilung der Völker benötigt nicht Zeit, sondern Wachstum im geistigen Verständnis. Das göttliche Prinzip des praktischen Christentums führt uns erfolgreich diesem Ziel entgegen, indem es alle Zeiten in dem von der göttlichen Liebe aufgestellten Plan von Freude und Frieden vereint.

Jesaja 52:7, 9; « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift », S. 333; Michée 4:3.

*Christian Science, sprich: « kraishtien »

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift » von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesezimmern der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ankündung über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erteilt auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



All eyes on the peacock

Beyond the surface image

I most enjoy going to a museum when I have no particular purpose or reason. Once inside I seem to generate my own private fog through which I perceive the art hazily, with a more intuitive than intellectual vision.

A few days ago I allowed myself the luxury of meandering in this manner through the European painting galleries of the Metropolitan Museum, pausing only when a painting penetrated the fog like a beacon. One of these was Bronzino's "Portrait of a Young Man," probably the Duke of Urbino who lived during the 16th century.

I remembered him well. When I was in my early 20s I lived with a roommate who was an ardent admirer of this particular young man and kept a picture of him, in museum postcard form, on her dresser mirror. I too was impressed by that handsome face and aristocratic carriage, and in those days he seemed a suitable model for Prince Charming.

Since then, I had, of course, noticed him on previous occasions in the museum, but not with the joy of recognition I felt on this particular day. I looked at him closely and saw for the first time in that handsome face a haughtiness, a coldness, a touch of cruelty, and too great a stiffness, even inflexibility, in his bearing. I didn't like him any more. In my newly opened eyes he seemed conceited, cocksure, a male chauvinist for all seasons.

But he also seemed typical of youth, riding high on his crest and imagining this life will go on forever. His face now seemed to me vulnerable, unformed, almost uninhabited. Frances Cornford's lines about the poet Rupert Brooke drifted through my mind: "A young Apollo, golden-haired, stands dreaming on the verge of strife/magnificently unprepared for the long droopiness of life."

I gave him a wry smile and moved on. Several rooms and many paintings intervened between the young man and Courbet's "The Woman with the Mirror" — La Belle Irlandaise, who caught my attention with her intelligent, beautiful, enigmatic face. I wanted to understand her and the secret of that moment which she reflected. I imagined it to have occurred during a sleepless night, a dark night of the soul.

On one level you can simply view this painting as a portrait of a beautiful woman admiring herself somewhat anxiously. The clear, white skin, the faint flush, the clear blue eyes — it is the face of a woman at the crossroads between youth and middle age. She holds a strand from her lavish mane of chestnut hair up to the light, and there is as much eloquence in that gesture as there is in the melancholy expression on her face.

In her reflection she sees the fragility and ephemerality of earthly beauty, and she personifies them for the viewer. Yet there is also character in her face, more than nostalgia for the past or apprehension of the future. The eyes are intent, looking not only at the face but searching for its meaning. She is trying to fathom her identity in that mirror, what is beneath the beauty, what will remain after the appearance is gone.

While contemplating her I found that Bronzino's young man kept preying on my mind. As if there were a connection between them. He epitomizes the budding arrogance of youth, the ripening wisdom of age. Despite the difference in sex, they reflect each other at different points in time. She is a premonition of his future: he is an avocation of her past.

Both portraits are really about vanity. Hers is the vanity of beauty, his is the vanity of power. They represent the classic male and female stereotypes, and they seem quite similar after all. Both are dealing in the



Picture courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
"Woman with a Mirror": Oil on canvas by Gustave Courbet (1819-1877)



"Portrait of a Young Man": Oil on wood by Bronzino (1503-1572)

same coin and ultimately cheating themselves. She understands this. He does not — yet — and maybe he never will.

Portraits like these are timeless. They both pull the viewer inside the mind of the subject

and draw feelings to the surface. Every deep portrait, that goes beyond the surface image, is a mirror in which one sees one's own nature and human nature reflected.

Diana Loecherer

Sardines for anyone?

The other day a friend of mine was deploring the lowering of standards on the English domestic scene. She admitted it was difficult to keep up appearances, to maintain, in the present-day social field, the status quo, but she did think people had, of late, become unnecessarily sloppy in their habits, and that a definite pull should be taken before the nation forgot what even a table mat looked like. She seemed unaware that this criticism of her countrymen came oddly from her lips, seeing that these were in the process of closing round a sardine that had been pronged straight out of the tin into her mouth, and that she and I were sitting at the kitchen table, wearing corduroy trousers and bedroom slippers.

Of course I ribbed her about this, but as I did so I could not help reflecting on my childhood days when such a meal in such a venue would have been impossible. For in the kitchen there would have been a cook, Mrs. Brinkley, and because she was an artist she could never, or hardly ever, be disturbed. One was occasionally allowed in to make some supervised fudge, or to give a ritual stir to the Christmas pudding, but that was all. Until specifically invited into it the kitchen was out of bounds.

It all seems a very long time ago, and certainly of no consequence, but as I rudely stretched across my friend and helped myself to a chunk of cheese I could not help remembering, with a little nostalgic pang, the sheer pretentiousness of an old-fashioned dining room table laid for an old-fashioned dinner party. Everything gleamed: the glass, the silver, the white linen napkins folded into double cocked hats, standing like Prussian guardsmen the length of it.

When I was a child it took a great many people all day to get ready for a dinner party. No ordinary day this. The whole house hummed with sound, flowed with activity, and although not personally polishing the silver or putting the extra leaves in the dining room table or arranging the flowers or assembling the ingredients for poulet à la Rochefoucauld, we went and watched other people so employed (Mrs. Brinkley excepted). Undercurrents of excitement and anxiety ran up and down the stairs like little tidal bores, so that even the routine of the nursery became infected.

Looking back it seems an amazing waste of time and energy. Nevertheless one remembers these labours vividly because the fruits of them were, as I said before, so pretty. I am sure meals are much better now, athletically speaking, much more democratic, more realistic, even, perhaps, because of their comparative unimportance, more spiritual, but no one can say they are easier on the eye.

Viewed through the banisters on the nursery landing, that stream of silks and satins cascading down the stairs to the dining room, like a beautiful, laughing, multicoloured waterfall was a memorable sight, and I do not see why, for revolutionary reasons, I should set it back to a seven course dinner, or even changing for dinner. I am very happy with a bowl of soup and some kipper pasta on a plate of bread eaten in the company of hairy friends to jeans. All the same I am glad I am old enough to remember the colour, elegance, grace, of those wicked, worthless, unegalitarian days of my youth.

Virginia Graham

Of never

Do not speak to me in "nevers".
Never is something
that I do not understand.
My childhood overs reached out to debar:
embraced, as gospel, all the myths there are
of unscalable peaks, impenetrable jungles,
unnavigable rivers near and far
and lifetime journeys to the nearest star.
And over and over again, futility
was in the telling, not the doing.

Do not speak of never.
Time has its own way
of transposing every never into soon.

And often we are shown
that things that we may disown
as being farthest from the mind
turn out to be the nearest to the heart.

So never never
speak of never to me —

E. B. de Vito

Laughter — sudden glory

Looking round the fiction and drama shelves of my library the other day, I was struck by the fact that the scenes and characters that have made the deepest impression on me, and have lingered most persistently in my memory, are nearly always those that have depended on humor. This may of course be due to an innate frivolity in me; and I don't really know how others feel. But I suspect that my attitude is widely shared, and that when it comes to the impact of fiction, laughter is perhaps the longest bed of the emotions. "Laughter," wrote Nabokov, "is nothing else but sudden glory," and it is by imparting such glory that Prospero's wand evokes its more dazzling illusion.

"What fools these mortals be!" exclaims Puck in "A Midsummer Night's Dream," but fiction is if the foolish, or at least the comic, who seem particularly apt to transcend mortal limitations and live on indefinitely. So that in this same play it is not Puck nor Titania nor Oberon, nor those bearded, and, to confess frankly, rather boring deities, who remain after centuries most vividly alive in our recollection today — it is Bottom.

Indeed, if one considers the whole gallery of Shakespeare's portraits, one cannot help feeling that none has a greater hold upon our imagination and affection than Falstaff. Moreover, at least so far as I am concerned, the great tragic figures owe something of their appeal to their ability to raise a momentary smile. Cleopatra, hopping "forty paces through the public street," or exclaiming her tantrums amusingly with Antony, brought so much nearer to us by the laughter-generating. Compare her, for instance, with the humorless, egotistical Coriolanus, for all his bitter sarcasm, calls up no picture of a genuine smile, and in contrast and forget it. I do not in the least want to go back to a seven course dinner, or even changing for dinner. I am very happy with a bowl of soup and some kipper pasta on a plate of bread eaten in the company of hairy friends to jeans. All the same I am glad I am old enough to remember the colour, elegance, grace, of those wicked, worthless, unegalitarian days of my youth.

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even Copperfield nor Esther Summerson, his best drawn hero and heroine, who can rival the impact and the vitality of Mr. Micawber, Flora Finch, Mr. Crummles, Mr. Toots and all the rest of that wonderful pageant of comical humanity. It is true that Little Nell and Paul Dombey have roused much affection and drawn many tears in the past, but it is hardly so now. They have become a trifle tedious; it is the comic characters that have withstood the onslaught of time.

But with Scott the circumstances are different, for he was not ostensibly a comic writer. He was drawing a serious, if romantic world, in which verisimilitude was certainly a desired condition. He has succeeded brilliantly with serious figures, with Jeanie Deans, Claverhouse, Die Vernon and others, but they do not quite linger so obstinately with me as the company that ranges from Bailie Nicol Jarvie to Don Quixote, and Dugald Dalgetty to James I.

Bergson in his book "Laughter" has laid it down that "the comic does not exist outside the pale of what is strictly human"; and therefore it would seem a reasonable deduction that the presence in fiction of the comic at once establishes the human. In fact it is arguable that the comic is the most humanizing of all the devices employed by the writer of fiction. No matter with what excellently conceived traits and idiosyncrasies borrowed from human nature he endows his character, he omits humor, or the comic, at his peril, if he would bring his Galatea to life, and equip her more efficiently in her struggle for existence.

At any rate, whether or not writers have entertained theories on these laughing matters, or have merely indulged a proclivity, there is certainly a very high proportion of humor in English literature.

"If I were a writer," interposed Anthea at this point, "it would be simply a matter of common sense."

"How do you mean?"
"I mean that all fiction, since it takes you out of your world, is a form of escapism, and I'd feel it was only common sense, if I were going to offer people an escape, to offer it into a better, brighter and more laughter-filled world."

Eric Forbes-Boyd

The Monitor's religious article

Season of peace and joy

What is the significance of Christmas in a world that seems troubled by discord? It surely represents more than a season of the year in which differences are set aside and hope is renewed that the promised blessings of peace and joy can actually become a reality that all may share. When viewed as a calendar event, this season comes to an end. Then, for some, thought may again be distracted by the apparent differences that divide people and nations.

The basis of lasting harmony can be gained when we are able to discern that the actual season of spiritual concord is not confined to a particular time of the year. Rather, it is a never-ending impartation from a loving Father to His children — a spiritual gift that can be enjoyed and shared each day, not just at some indefinite period in the future. The prophet Isaiah understood the present possibilities of the message that the Christ, God's immortal ideal, conveyed to humanity. He said, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, 'Thy God reigneth!'" His hymn of gladness continues, "Break forth into joy, sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem."

Isaiah's words were exemplified by Christ Jesus. His mission as the Messiah reached out to mankind to release them from sorrow, pain, and sin. He showed the way to overcome every belief of separation from good through the understanding of man's eternal unity with God, divine Spirit. Our Master healed discord without regard for the artificial barriers of time or nationality. In directing his followers to spread the comforting truth of God's goodness and power, he affirmed that Isaiah's prophecy would be fulfilled in all ages.

Christian Science today confirms the unceasing nature of the divine blessings of universal harmony. In accord with the Bible, this Science of being shows that peace and joy are the inheritance of the perfect man of God's creating. These blessings are bestowed by the one Father-Mother, who is not only loving, but is the divine Principle, Love, Himself; such peace and joy can be experienced in the measure that one's true, spiritual selfhood as the reflection of God is recognized. Because the love of Love is established on Principle, it radiates the joyous news of healing and salvation equally to all peoples.

Are we opening our hearts to accept this message of peace? If so, Christ, the incarnate Saviour, demonstrates to us that discord has no Principle, no foundation in reality. It is an illusion of the material senses, having no authority for permanent status. This truth that uncovers and corrects the errors of sense is always available to meet the needs of mankind. Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes, "The advent of Jesus of Nazareth marked the first century of the Christian era, but the Christ is without beginning of years or end of days."

It is certainly cause for rejoicing to learn that the unfolding of good is not constrained by limits of time. However, gratitude for the abundance of God's riches is much more than satisfaction with a state of material well-being. Most importantly, it should reflect the awareness that man, the idea of divine Mind, cannot be separated from his source nor touched by any of the claims of a so-called antagonistic world. The recognition of this fact of scientific being enables us to see the

power of divine Love in individual experience. This is the only power that can truly dissolve social, political, and ethnic discords and reveal the timeless sense of spiritual peace that men and women have sought throughout history.

Isaiah's vision foretells that "nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The healing of the nations requires not time, but growth in spiritual understanding. The divine Principle of practical Christianity impels progress towards this goal, uniting all periods in Love's plan of joy and peace.

*Isaiah 52:7, 9; **Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 333; Micah 4:3.

Within the closeness of God's family

To feel a natural warmth and affection for all our brothers and sisters as children of God is to be drawn within the encircling love of our divine Parent. The Bible speaks of this bond of universal brotherhood and assures us that we are all the sons and daughters of God. It tells us that God can help us in every circumstance.

A fuller understanding of God is needed to reach to the core of every discord with a healing solution. A book that speaks of the all-goodness of God, His love and His constancy, in clear understandable terms is Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy.

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OPINION AND...

Charles W. Yost

1977: a time for peace or a pause for war?

In one of his recent vaudeville Henry Kissinger said about the Middle East: "My assessment... is that the objective conditions that make for peace in the Middle East are better than they have been in perhaps decades."

It is true that conditions today are remarkably favorable. The shock of the 1973 war produced a sobering realization in Israel that the status quo could not painlessly, perhaps not possibly, be preserved. It produced an equally sobering realization on the Arab side that Israel is still and almost certainly will remain strong enough to survive.

Israel's Arab neighbors, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan, have unequivocally recognized the existence of Israel within its 1967 borders and stated their readiness to negotiate a guaranteed peace settlement with it. Israel has stated a readiness, within the context of such a settlement, to yield much, though not all, of its 1967 conquests.

Israel, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan have all announced their willingness to reconvene the Geneva conference at an early date to negotiate the general settlement. The United States and the Soviet Union have been advocating a similar course. The United Nations General Assembly has just called upon the Secretary-General to arrange for convening the conference next March.

Euphoria, an unaccustomed experience in the Middle East, is blooming like a rose. But does it have any roots? Will it dissolve overnight into the customary frustrations and recriminations? There are at least four serious obstacles, two of them obstacles to getting negotiations under way, and two to their subsequently proceeding very far.

First, what can reasonably be expected of the United States at this time? It is doubtful that the conference can actually be convened without the United States playing a politically difficult role in paving the way. Will the Carter administration, confronted by an array of domestic and foreign problems demanding immediate attention, be prepared in its early months to play such a role?

The second obstacle is Palestine Liberation Organization representation. The Arabs and Soviets insist the PLO must be represented from the outset. Israel and the United States insist that it cannot be represented unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist. Can this impasse be overcome, at least for a time, by PLO representatives being included in another Arab delegation?

A longer-term obstacle is whether the Arabs are psychologically ready, not only to recognize Israel and give it security guarantees, but to agree on concrete measures of "normalization" of their relations with Israel, without

which most Israelis will not believe real peace has been achieved.

Will the Arabs, while negotiations are in progress, be willing to relax their secondary economic boycotts and their harassment of Israel in UN bodies, which most Israelis and many Americans consider incompatible with a sincere desire for peace?

On the other hand, will Israel, in exchange for security guarantees and acceptable measures of normalization, be willing not only to negotiate withdrawal from almost all of the territories occupied in 1967 but also to accept some sort of Palestinian state on the West Bank?

These are old questions but no less tough to resolve today even in the present state of euphoria. Just possibly, however, the decisive factor might be the contemplation of unpleasant alternatives.

The year 1977 may prove to be, as Kissinger suggested, a unique and fleeting moment in Middle Eastern history. The principal Arab states concerned all have moderate leaders ready to do what Israel has so long sought — sit down at a table with it and negotiate a genuine peace. Israeli leaders may wish to run their electoral campaign this year on a platform of peace.

If this opportunity is lost or action delayed, such a favorable time is not likely to recur. It

"liberation" of occupied territories cannot be achieved by negotiation. It will certainly be sought again by war. The nature of war today is such that, even if Israel wins, it will suffer more terribly than ever before. War in the Middle East, moreover, always risks nuclear confrontation between the superpowers.

All four parties most concerned, therefore — Israel, its Arab neighbors, the U.S., and the U.S.S.R. — should perceive it to be in their vital interests to join in overcoming obstacles, in ironing out the necessary preliminaries quickly, and in launching the conference.

There is one essential caveat. Neither governments nor the general public should be under any illusion that the negotiations can quickly succeed or that, if they do not, they have inevitably failed.

The conference may have to continue for two or three years, with many interruptions, deadlocks, and moments of despair — in the overcoming of which the United States will have to play a decisive part. America's hope must be that, out of the very process of sitting around a common table month after month, year after year, there will slowly emerge a new spirit of accommodation and understanding, and that in the ambience of that spirit what now seems inconceivable will become possible.

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Word pollution speaks for itself

Melvin Maddocks

Saving the English language has become sort of a cause, like saving the redwoods or saving the whooping crane. In the past couple of years a small army of reformers — novelists, English teachers, journalists, Edwin Newman — have thrown themselves into the breach against an enemy that has become popularly known as "word pollution."

The novelists have placed responsibility for the scourge on the journalists: those who run while they write for those who read while they run. The journalists have blamed the English teachers for the calamity ("Why can't Johnny read my newspaper?"). Everybody except Mr. Newman has pointed a finger at the nearest television tube.

The assumption has been that Word Pollution is a minor case of criminal negligence, like littering, and that a little schoolmarm scolding here and a bumper sticker there will make the culprits — whoever they are — face up to their shame and begin to speak and write like Samuel Johnson. This notion that language can be improved, rather like table manners, may itself be part of the problem.

"Language," said Emerson in one of his oracular moments, "is the archives of history." If Emerson is right, our language is a profound indicator of our lives, and the Elizabethans, for example, wrote great English precisely because they — or enough of them — were great people. In fact, it only indicates our superficiality to believe that if we speak and write clear-thinking, elegant,

and noble English, we will become clear-thinking, elegant, and noble people, instead of the other way around.

A new book — still another product of the current language obsession — would seem to support Emerson's metaphor. "I Hear America Talking: An Illustrated Treasury of American Words and Phrases" by Stuart Berg Flexner (Van Nostrand, \$18.95) documents the inextricable connection between the quality of one's history and the quality of one's language.

American-English, as even a scanning of Mr. Flexner's 605 pages makes evident, is pungent, informal, slangy — the language of a people with a lot of impatience and some humor trying to get things done. Economy, in language as in life, might seem to be the American passion. Mr. Flexner, an editor of the Random House Dictionary, estimates that there are 600,000 words in the English language. Americans, depending on their education, know 10,000 to 20,000 words but use only half that number. Indeed 50 words make up almost 90 percent of our speech; 70 words constitute about 90 percent of our writing vocabulary. Only 1,500 to 2,000 words are required for 90 percent of everything we have to say.

As a case of supereconomy, take Mr. Flexner's witty section on "Hub" (meaning everything from "What?" to "Are you crazy?"); "Rubi" (ranging from "Wow!"

to "Oh yeah?"); "Uh-uh" (signifying "no" when the accent falls on the second syllable); and "Uh-huh" (meaning "yes" when the accent falls on the second syllable).

Then there is language and the national tone. American-English is just full of explosive ways to state strong, unqualified opinions. Mr. Flexner lists 54 synonyms for "Nonsense!" — spitting from "Bunk!" to "Applesauce!"

American-English, in short, turns out to be the total product of everything from the pilgrims' stay in Holland (where the first Americans may have picked up the Dutch derivative word "boss") to the Vietnam war (out of which emerged such grim terms as "ragging") and "kill ratio," such euphemisms as "protective reaction"). Twelve pages are devoted to railroad terms, which spread through the language as tracks spread across the country.

Words lie, but language doesn't. It can't. It has no choice — in its idealism, in its obscenity — but to represent for good and for bad the people who stammer out their character and their experience through it. So, if we become better people — wiser, more honest, more compassionate — our language will become better, and probably not until then, despite all the "Beautify Our Nouns-and-Verbs" projects abroad in the land.

Oh yes. About those 50 most popular words. No. 4 is "a." No. 3 is "the." No. 2 is "you." And No. 1 — No. 1 is "I." And if that doesn't tell us something about language and about life, what will?

Crinolines in Cracow

By Eric Bourne

Cracow, Poland: Plastic ribbons — colors extra bright under floodlights — stream down the six-floor facade of the old Potocki family palace on the town square. Through the front door surges a motley collection of bewigged, silk-stockinged noblemen and their crinolined ladies.

From the courtyard balcony, a brass band blasts out a welcome. Within the palace, a veritable storm of paper snow falls from the top floor through the walls of the great staircase as guests walk up to the opulent white walls and hang with the age-dark oil paintings of the Potockis.

The occasion is the 20th anniversary of the Potocki — the "cellar" youth club founded in the wake of Poland's liberal reforms of 1956. Most of the "liberalizing" was short-lived. But Potocki has been on, from strength to strength.

It started in the palace's catacomb cellars, with Cracow's first trendy rock bands belting out Western hits and students high on acid.

The embrace of a lighter outlet to life blossomed.

This night a new generation of bands, with all the new electronic devices and the youth in their own "de rigueur" jeans, is in command in the cellars of the palace, now Cracow's cultural club. The 1936 "founding fathers" — the lords and ladies in the historical costume prescribed for the jubilee ball — are upstairs.

Everyone who is anyone — Cracow's writers, artists, academics, local officials, including good communist party members — seem to be here.

At four a.m. the ball still goes strong. We continue a long talk of the day before with the editor of the prestigious Roman Catholic weekly Tygodnik Powszechny on the church's position in Poland's present uneasy situation.

It could only happen in Cracow. Poland's second city has something — sprung, probably from a university tradition begun 600 years ago — which Warsaw, the capital, has not. First-

money to this is the presence of Warsaw artists, theater and movie folk who, for the sake of occasion well worth the long train journey.

The city has an unmistakably cultured air, past and present.

In St. Mary's Church, an official Polish guide tells Russian tourists about the 15th-century magnificent high altar triptych of Wł. Słowacki. She does not fail to say it was brought back home by a U.S. Army train in 1945 from West Germany, whither it had been taken by the looting Nazis during the war.

In the rough red-brick cellars of an ancient coffeehouse there is the noted Tadeusz Kantor gallery of avant-garde art. There is also the Cracow 2 theater founded by a group of Cracow painters in perilous wartime to preserve the identity of a famous theater created by Polish writers in the '30s.

Students flock to the Green Balloon Cafe, with its lapping Empire ambience, sipping tea and showing they like quiet, serious talk as well as pop.

Peel and painter Adam Macdonald tells us of his Catholic song group. It includes several foreign students, among them an American and two Indians. They visit youth clubs and sing protest songs of many nations. "I talk about human rights," the poet says.

Sometimes the authorities ask what he is doing. He tells them and produces his "textbook." It is a well-worn copy of the official Polish edition of the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, which Poland signed along with the other communist nations.

It is a slightly sensitive subject just now, however. More "freedom of expression" is something for which Polish workers as well as intellectuals, church, and students are pressing the government — as a means of avoiding the explosive kind of dissent which rocked Warsaw last June.

Mr. Bourne is this newspaper's special correspondent in Eastern Europe.

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

A Cabinet without ideologues

With the Carter Cabinet complete now the fact which should not be surprising but probably will be to most people emerges that Mr. Carter seems likely to be the most conservative president the United States has had since John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Kennedy kept the dollar and the American economy stable during his presidency, left a surplus in the Treasury, and almost avoided a fatal tangle with Vietnam. Business prospered. Social conflicts were kept to a minimum.

Perhaps most Americans will have difficulty to this day to recognize the Kennedy presidency as having been conservative. Perceptions of a presidency are often obscured by political mythology. Richard Nixon, for example, would probably still be described by the average layman as having been a conservative. Yet in fact Mr. Nixon practiced Keynesian economics, and reopened the diplomatic channels between the United States and Communist China, to the horror of most self-styled political conservatives.

Fortunately for modern, Western mankind political leaders seldom behave in office according to popular perceptions or political ideology. If the record is examined one often finds the labeled liberal or radical doing the conservative thing, or vice versa.

Only a soldier, Dwight D. Eisenhower, could have kept the United States out of all the wars which tempted his country during his eight-year presidency, and also kept a tight rein on the "military-industrial complex" which he defined and identified. If Mr. Eisenhower, the soldier, had been president in 1965 instead of Lyndon Johnson, the civilian professional politician, it is an excellent guess that the United States would never have found itself in the Vietnam war.

The most radical politician in Britain's 19th century was no "Liberal," but the arch Tory conservative, Benjamin Disraeli. Britain's need for conservative economic policies today is being met by Labour Party leader James Callaghan who is applying to his country the measures which the Conservatives entirely approve but could never themselves have imposed on the country.

The Democrats who preceded Richard Nixon to the White House would have liked to reopen American relations with China, but dared not. Even Mr. Eisenhower considered it too radical a move for his own times, although he, too, thought it should be done.

Popular American perception has it that business prospers under Republicans and suffers under Democrats. But Howard K. Smith,

on ABC News, reported that a search of the records had brought up the fact that the stock market over the last half century has consistently done better under the Democrats.

So, what is to be expected of Mr. Carter? He owed his narrow victory to the diligence of the trade unions and the devotion of the black community. But black political leaders are loudly complaining about his Cabinet choices, particularly his choice of an attorney general whose record is anything but that of a civil-rights radical.

The AFL-CIO has not dictated Mr. Carter's choice as secretary of labor, nor seems likely to dominate his economic strategy. The inclination from his choice for the key budget and treasury posts would seem to forecast an economic strategy aimed much more at encouraging business than at spending federal money for quick jobs.

Certainly labor and blacks will not be forgotten during the Carter administration. Labor will end up happy if Carter economic policies stimulate employment through stimulation of business and industry. But the complaints which have gone up from black and labor leaders make it fairly clear that Mr. Carter is certainly not turning the White House over to them just because they made him president.

I do not mean to suggest that I think the Carter administration is going to run the country to the disadvantage of the trade union and black communities. But I do say that the other communities have no reason to think that their interests are going to be overlooked or ignored.

The emerging Cabinet is not a group of ideologues. Quite the contrary. It is a collection of people of considerable competence in various fields of American life. If Northerners think too many come from Georgia, the Carter response is fair enough. That Southerners have been underrepresented in the Cabinet for a very long time.

The main criticism seems to be that both budget director and attorney general are old Carter associates from Atlanta. Well, isn't a new president entitled to have in his Cabinet at least a few people he has known for a long time and whom he can trust to be candid and forthright with him? Both, incidentally, seem to come from the political and economic middle road.

Professional liberals are bound to be disappointed by the Carter choices. But the great majority of Americans who want their public affairs managed competently and cautiously should, it seems to me, feel reassured.

Mr. Knapp says that these women "insult all giving Americans," that "their movement condones the activities of a foreign government on Irish soil, a hold which they have no legitimate claim to." This is incorrect. Since the troubles flared up again in 1969 in Ireland, the people in Northern Ireland voted on whether or not they wished to remain part of the United Kingdom. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of so remaining.

For the last seven years, men have genuinely tried and failed to solve this heart-breaking problem of Northern Ireland, where the children, its future citizens, have no chance of a normal childhood, or of any stability as adults.

These two fundamental issues have been agreed upon, the specific negotiations will have a pragmatic framework in which to proceed.

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To help the poorest help themselves

By Robert S. McNamara

Excerpts from an address by the head of the World Bank to this fall's meeting of its Board of Governors in Manila.

If we look at the world today realistically, it is evident that the desire for a greater degree of equity — for a more just and reasonable equality of opportunity among individuals, both within nations and between nations — is becoming a major concern of our time.

It is a trend that has been gathering momentum for a century or more. The rise of the labor union movement, the drive against racial discrimination, the expansion of civil rights, the enhancement of the status of women — these and similar movements have all had an ingredient in common: the surge toward greater social justice and more equitable economic opportunity.

This broad thrust is growing more insistent today in all nations. It is searching for new solutions to the intolerable problems of poverty. The per capita incomes of the more than one billion human beings in the poorest countries have nearly stagnated over the past decade. In statistical terms they have risen only about two dollars a year: from \$130 in 1965, to \$150 in 1975.

What is beyond the power of any set of statistics to illustrate is the inhuman degradation — the vast majority of these individuals are condemned to because of poverty. Malnutrition saps their energy, stunts their bodies, and shortens their lives. Illiteracy darkens their minds, and forecloses their futures. Simple, preventable diseases maim and kill their children. Squalor and ugliness pollute and

poison their surroundings. The self-perpetuating plight of the absolute poor simply cuts them off from whatever economic progress there may be in their own societies. They remain largely outside the onlv development effort, neither able to contribute much to it, nor benefit fairly from it.

Unless specific efforts are made to bring them into the development process, no feasible degree of traditional warfare, or simply redistribution of already inadequate national income, can fundamentally alter the circumstances that impoverish them.

The governments of the poorest countries must, then, reorient their domestic policies so that they will both accelerate economic advance and begin to reach the poor with measures specifically designed to help them to become more productive.

All of this is feasible, but not without greater help from the international community. If poverty is to be reduced, then developed nations must squarely face the fact that current and projected levels of [the bank's] Official Development Assistance (ODA) for the poorest countries are disgracefully inadequate. On the basis of present plans, not only is there no hope that the ODA target of 0.7 percent of GNP [for each contributing nation] can be reached but there is a serious possibility that performance may erode even further.

The principal reason for this is that the strongest and wealthiest of the OECD nations — countries whose gross domestic product accounts for two-thirds of the entire combined GNP of the 17-nation Development Assistance

Committee group — are substantially below the average of the others in their response to the target. And the contribution of these nations will decline even further unless they act deliberately to reverse their projected ODA trends.

The economies of these nations — already immensely productive — will become even more productive over the next few years. For them — or indeed for any of the other developed nations — increasing their help to the poorest countries would not require them to diminish in the slightest their own high standard of living, but only to devote a minuscule percentage of the additional per capita real income they will earn over the decade.

If governments of the poorest countries do not take the internal measures they must, and if the developed nations do not help them with the development assistance they so seriously need, then the outlook for three out of every five of the 1.2 billion human beings who live in these disadvantaged countries is unacceptably grim.

The record of the middle-income developing countries over the past decade has been better, but their achievement has been marred by serious inequities in their income-distribution patterns.

Not only do the 170 million absolute poor in their societies suffer the same deprivations as those in the poorest countries, but hundreds of millions more subsist on income levels less than a third of the national average.

These extremes of inequality have contributed to severe political turmoil in a number of these countries, and could easily trigger fur-

ther violence. Governments must recognize that if the growth rates of the past are to be resumed and sustained, their benefits must be more widely distributed.

As those measures are taken — and are buttressed by greater efforts to mobilize internal resources, expand employment, and broaden the range of exports — the industrial nations must find practical ways to assist by permitting more equitable access to their own markets, and by making available additional development capital on reasonable terms.

All of this, too, is feasible, given a sense of fairness and realism. The dialogue over these issues within the international community is intense, but is often confused and ineffectual because of the tendency to prolong debate over peripheral questions, rather than come to terms first with what is clearly fundamental.

And what is fundamental is that the developing nations must make a strong commitment to internal policy reforms; and the developed nations must, in their turn, make a comparable commitment to provide a more adequate amount of development assistance.

It is less important initially what specific forms that assistance will take than that a general agreement be concluded on two basic points: the overall magnitude of the trade assistance and capital requirements within a given time frame; and the scope of the internal policy reforms that will assure its cost-effectiveness.

Once these two fundamental issues have been agreed upon, the specific negotiations will have a pragmatic framework in which to proceed.

Readers write

Airing South Africa's case; Ulster's 'peace women'

The fact that communism is intent on occupying this whole country seems to the West of less importance than giving the vote to the blacks. Yet all over the rest of Africa, more than half those black-governed countries are chaotic with persecution, poverty, and a lust for power among the more educated blacks that will eventually plunge the continent into the most bloody war possible.

When Americans of impartial judgment, after a stay here, return home to try to correct some of the inaccurate reporting, newspapers and once-shrewd "biased in favor of South Africa," and refuse to print anything but scurrilous reports and opinions. Communism we never had it so good, with even its enemies siding with it.

A majority of our blacks are primitive people. They would vote for anyone who gave them giddy, impossible promises; they are not fit to govern. This mad, destructive desire to destroy the only possible law and order here

will eventually sink the world into war. Where will you get the fuel to continue the fight if Russia or China remove our sea route for the tankers?

Responsible citizens here are quite aware that there is justly needed amendment, as to all countries. And we still have to find a solution to outvote those who advocate no change. Meanwhile it would be fitting if you dealt more with your problems than be so busy criticizing a country in need of justice from the West.

Durban, South Africa

Daisy Dunkeld

Ulster's peace movement

Your correspondent, Mr. Thomas Knapp of Olympia, Wash., in his letter "Justifying IRA" printed in the November 29th International Edition of the Monitor, writes uncharitably of the "peace women" Mrs. Carrigan and Mrs. Williams who founded the Ulster Peace Movement. Their rallies for peace in Ireland culmi-

nated in their massive rally of approximately twenty thousand (20,000) persons, including many from the United States and Western Europe, in Trafalgar Square, London. This was the first rally for Ireland that has been officially allowed in London.

Those identifying themselves with it on the Trafalgar Square platform included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Westminster, and the Moderator of the Free Church Council. The BBC says that there can be no question as to the atmosphere of moving favor and depth of sincerity of the rally. The previous evening, on the BBC radio program "Any Questions?" each member of the team said he was 100% for these women and the forthcoming Trafalgar Square Rally, but one of them, Lord Hailsham, said he was 110% with the noble woman, totally disregarding their own personal safety in the case of peace, and that we should all be with them. He received an overwhelming ovation.

Mr. Knapp says that these women "insult all giving Americans," that "their movement condones the activities of a foreign government on Irish soil, a hold which they have no legitimate claim to." This is incorrect. Since the troubles flared up again in 1969 in Ireland, the people in Northern Ireland voted on whether or not they wished to remain part of the United Kingdom. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor of so remaining.

For the last seven years, men have genuinely tried and failed to solve this heart-breaking problem of Northern Ireland, where the children, its future citizens, have no chance of a normal childhood, or of any stability as adults.

These two fundamental issues have been agreed upon, the specific negotiations will have a pragmatic framework in which to proceed.

Pamela G. Palmer

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, but some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful contributions are welcome.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Monday, December 27, 1976

Israel's new political crisis

ousting of members of the right-wing National Religious Party from his Cabinet by Prime Minister Rabin makes it likely that general elections in Israel, due next October or November, will be held much earlier. Barring now could occur this spring or early summer, with Mr. Rabin heading a caretaker government in the interim.

The cabinet crisis is seen as resulting from a decision by Mr. Rabin to move the date of the elections forward by roughly six months, primarily because of domestic political considerations. If the elections were held later, the ruling Labor Party's continuation in office might be in greater jeopardy, and the party might decide Defense Minister Shimon Peres, not Mr. Rabin, was its better candidate. There also is the growing political threat from the new Democratic Movement for Change, headed by Yigal Yadin, for the Prime Minister to consider.

By parting company with Religious Party members of his coalition Cabinet, the Prime Minister ended what has often proved to be an uneasy grouping. At the same time, he has precipitated a long-awaited showdown between Israeli hawks and doves over Israeli policy toward the occupied Arab territories. And that in turn could have an effect on the Israeli position of resumed Arab-Israeli peace talks, the prospect of which is being much discussed.

If Mr. Rabin, or a possible successor, gets a fresh mandate from the Israeli people, that leader will be able to negotiate with the Arabs with less concern about lack of support from

his own political front at home. This would be an improvement over the present situation, under which some have wondered if the government coalition could hold together under the pressure of crucial negotiations.

The United States meanwhile will be a key factor in Israeli considerations. The expectation is that Mr. Rabin will want to have a meeting with President-Elect Jimmy Carter as soon as possible after the Carter inauguration, to make personal contact with the new chief executive as well as to bolster his own political standing in Israel.

And it is certainly ironic that the government crisis was sparked by Religious Party objections to holding an official ceremony on the eve of the Sabbath — a ceremony to welcome the arrival of the first of Israel's new F-15 fighter planes from the United States. The Prime Minister asserts the ceremony finished before the start of the Sabbath at sundown.

The determination of some Israelis not to withdraw from any occupied territory meanwhile was highlighted during the current crisis by the first anniversary of the founding of a settlement at Kadum in the occupied West Bank by extreme nationalists against government orders. The settlement, which the Prime Minister reluctantly allowed to remain, is cited by Arabs as evidence that Israel is not really serious about withdrawal.

We can only wait to see if the present political upheaval clears the air, as everyone would like to see happen, or leaves the problems of occupation and peace still bedeviled.

'Peace in the Middle East? Well, we're working on it'



Britain: not enough or too much?

"Too little" was the way some characterized the British Labour government's latest effort to stem the country's harrowing downward economic spiral. And a further slip by the pound sterling on money markets as Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced new spending cuts hinted that financial moguls might agree that he did not go far enough.

Others thought differently. "Very harsh" was the comment of Jack Jones, head of the powerful Transport and General Workers Union. And his words testified as much as anything to the enormous difficulty Prime Minister Callaghan's Cabinet has faced in trying to meet stiff International Monetary Fund requirements for the \$3.9 billion loan Britain desperately needs to stay viable, while at the same time not alienating the support of Labour's leftists and trade unions that the government must have to remain in power.

The Prime Minister, the Chancellor, and their colleagues are constantly aware that the so-called social contract with the British labor unions, whereby wages are kept from rising in return for maintaining the social policies which workers consider essential, must not be shattered, lest an even worse situation ensue. To their credit, they have convinced IMF officials of this. In a bow to unions and leftists moreover, Mr. Healey's strictures on the economy included no new cuts in welfare programs.

But the cuts will bite deeply into Britain's spending this coming year and the following year on such vital items as national defense,

education, public housing, road building, foreign aid, civil service, and food prices. The defense cutbacks alone will give Britain's North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies cause for concern about the credibility of the British contribution.

Likewise sobering is the fact that this is the fourth round of emergency spending cuts and tax increases that the Labour government has been forced to hand out to the nation since last February. Each time the Chancellor has expressed confidence his moves would do the trick; each time more has quickly become necessary. This lack of success in halting the slide in the past naturally makes Britons and outsiders wonder if enough of the right ingredients have been used this time.

It remains to be seen now if Labour has the courage — and political power — to carry out its announced moves without flinching in the face of what plainly will be very strong criticism. Nobody enjoys austerity, and the British now are in for the harshest bit of belt-tightening in many a decade. At such a moment, it is at least some solace that the United States and West Germany have offered Britain an interim credit of \$500 million to tide things over until next month when the first portion of the IMF loan is to become available.

For Britain, the road ahead is not only uphill and rocky. Political precipices yawn on both right and left. Backseat drivers abound. Meanwhile, one can only hope that this time the government stops will provide enough momentum to get Britain through its crisis.

Swapping political prisoners

It is regrettable that the freeing of civil-rights fighter Vladimir Bukovsky from the Soviet Union was the result of a trade. He should have won his liberty without a quid pro quo in the form of an exchange for the jailed Chilean Communist Party leader. But the swap negotiated by the U.S. is also a significant development because it has placed the entire issue of human rights on a high international level.

Moscow has to effect, in fact, even greater public attention by governments and the public in the West to its cruel treatment of dissenters. As Mr. Bukovsky, who has spent 12 years in Soviet prisons, camps and psychiatric clinics, commented after his arrival in Zurich, "I regard this exchange as an extraordinary event as it is the first time that the Soviet Govern-

ment officially recognized it has political prisoners."

The Russian writer also suggested that Soviet prison life had greatly worsened after the signing of the Helsinki agreement on East-West cooperation. Whether there is a causal relationship is difficult to determine. Certainly other Soviet exiles, such as Andrei Amalrik, indicate that would-be emigrants and dissidents in the U.S.S.R. are using the Helsinki accord to bolster their case and doing so with some success.

That the agreement is uttered with short comings is beyond dispute. Yet one notices, too, that it seems to have created a contagion, a desire for more freedom, that is penetrating many corners of Eastern Europe. In East Germany, for instance, some 100,000 citizens have asked to emigrate to West Germany on the basis of the Helsinki accord. In Poland the Roman Catholic Church is telling workers to de-

fend their rights. And in Yugoslavia a group of political prisoners are even now on a hunger strike protesting the country's new and extremely severe criminal code.

More and more, Communist regimes are thus committed to dealing with the sensitive human rights issue. And it will be all the more sensitive as they prepare for next year's conference in Belgrade at which 35 nations will convene to assess the results of Helsinki. The fact that President-Elect Carter has chosen to stress human rights in foreign policy must only add to Moscow's discomfort.

The battle, in short, is joined. The mighty Russians have released one more brave battler on their side of the line. But, as even French Communist leader Georges Marchais remarked about the Bukovsky case, they should not only free their political prisoners. They should not have them in the first place.

UN vote for 'armed struggle'

There is something ironic about an organization dedicated to peace and peace-keeping, as is the United Nations, passing a resolution endorsing violence. Advocating "armed struggle" in Namibia (South-West Africa) by liberationists to end South Africa's control of that territory does nothing to improve the UN's image. It comes, moreover, at a moment when the actions of militant Africans and other third-world nations already have evoked criticism of the UN and eroded its popular support by the United States and other Western powers.

This was the first time that a majority of the world's nations represented were ready to openly sanction the use of armed violence to oust what most people, including those of the Western nations, regard as an oppressive colonial regime in Namibia. Few doubt that strong steps are necessary to get genuine independence moves under way; or that the black tribes of Namibia need all the outside support and encouragement they can muster. But a call for armed struggle to achieve this end is going too far, and the U.S., along with Britain,

France, and West Germany, were right in voting against it.

To their credit, another 12 countries including Japan, Canada, Italy, Spain, and Sweden abstained, and it was said in UN corridors that even some Africans agreed privately the resolution went too far in opening the door to use of military force to attain its ends. The contention of Americans and others is that independence still can be achieved through negotiation, and that this is the better way, difficult though the task will continue to be.

The U.S., for one, apparently still has been hoping for talks on Namibia in Geneva under UN auspices, a commendable enough objective. However, the advent of the holiday season, with its UN recess, and the coming change of administrations in Washington, have made outgoing Secretary of State Kissinger's efforts on this score of little avail thus far. The president of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), Sam Nujoma, has not been responsive to the Kissinger overtures, and his group is the main liberation element.

South Africa, meanwhile, has done little to improve the situation. It has held conferences with black leaders in Namibia, but has refused to respond to UN resolutions calling for its withdrawal. Nor will it negotiate with SWAPO, which it regards as a terrorist organization.

But more official and moderate South African response to outside views might bolster the arguments of those urging continued negotiation in southern Africa, rather than armed conflict. For beyond Namibia, the situation in Rhodesia and South Africa itself could be expected to draw attention. The fact that the UN now has been moved to go further than before indicates how serious matters are becoming.

The United States does not come out of UN debates completely unscathed, either — not as long as it continues to allow import of Rhodesian chrome and nickel in flat defiance of a UN trade embargo against that nation. This time Washington, at least, abstained, rather than voted against, another resolution condemning its chrome purchases.

دعوات الرضا

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